

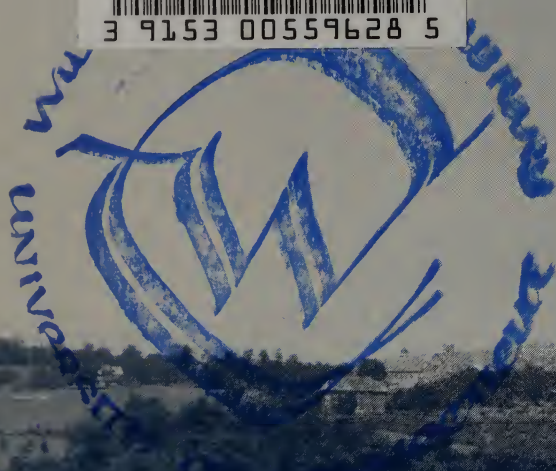
hbl, stx

LD 7501.M92817 1890

New England schoolmaster;



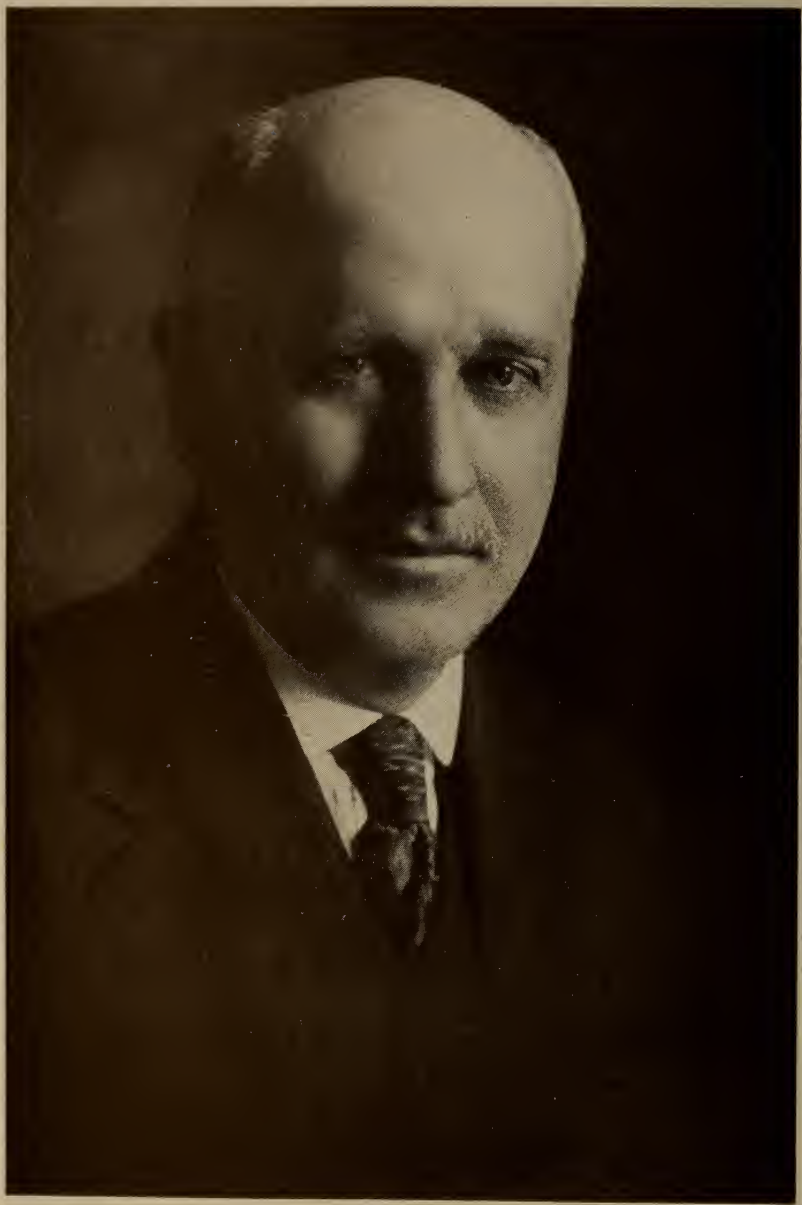
3 9153 00559628 5



LD
7501
M92817
1890



A NEW ENGLAND SCHOOLMASTER



1862-1945

A
NEW ENGLAND
SCHOOLMASTER

*The Life of
Henry Franklin Cutler*

BY RICHARD WARD DAY

1950

The HILDRETH PRESS, Inc.

BRISTOL, CONN.

COPYRIGHT 1950, BY MRS. HENRY FRANKLIN CUTLER

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY THE HILDRETH PRESS, INC., BRISTOL, CONNECTICUT

INTRODUCTION

The education of youth, the most important task in building a decent world, has seldom received more than passing consideration in relation to its importance. At the present time, because of mankind's failure to find a peaceful solution to its difficulties, more people are giving thought to education. The central question is *how can the schools best build character*.

This is the biography of a man who gave one answer to this problem. What makes Dr. Henry Franklin Cutler outstanding is not the length of his service, nor the number of young men who attended Mount Hermon while he was principal, but his belief, constantly shown in word and deed, that education means moral training as well as book learning. Dr. Cutler would have agreed with one of his contemporaries that education "is, like physical science, a blessing or a curse according to the purposes for which its results are used."¹

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the preparation of this biography I owe a special debt of gratitude to Mr. Horace H. Morse, who from the very beginning has given unstintingly of his time, and whose perceptive understanding of the school and its history helped me to greater insight into its problems.

I have also received valuable assistance for which I extend grateful thanks:

To the family of Dr. Henry F. Cutler for the use of family papers and letters, and for their time and effort in helping me gain an understanding of Dr. Cutler, and for recalling illuminating incidents and conversations, and particularly to Mrs. Henry F. Cutler, who made this book possible in the first place, for her constant vigilance and encouragement; to Dr. Howard L. Rubendall and the staff of the Mount Hermon School for making my stays there so pleasant and rewarding, and for their generosity in placing the school's files at my disposal, and especially to Messrs. Carroll Rikert and Lester P. White for their continued interest; to Dr. William E. Park for permission to use the files of the Northfield Schools; to Messrs. William Y. Duncan, Douglas Malcolm, Gaylord Douglass, the Reverend Albert C. Fulton, and the Reverend G. Glenn Atkins, from whose informative articles I have drawn much help, and to Mr. E. S. S. Sunderland for his valuable advice; to Mr. Stephen Stark for his research; to Mr. F. Wilson Keller for securing instructive material; to Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger for his painstaking and constructive criticism.

Acknowledgement is made to Harvard University for permission to use the Schools' Examination Board Report on Mount Hermon.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	v
I. THE VALLEY YEARS 1862-1877	1
II. THE LONELY QUEST 1877-1886	23
III. A NEW LIFE	51
IV. NEW LANDS AND NEW SCHOOLS	68
V. FIRST YEARS AS PRINCIPAL: MOUNT HERMON, 1890-1899	92
VI. HENRY CUTLER AND THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE SCHOOL	119
VII. MOUNT HERMON 1900-1916	130
VIII. AT HOME AND ABROAD	149
IX. "PROF" AND HIS BOYS	177
X. LAST YEARS AS PRINCIPAL: MOUNT HERMON, 1917-1932	195
XI. LIFE BEGINS AT SEVENTY	215
NOTES	237
APPENDICES	253
BIBLIOGRAPHY	260
INDEX	271

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

HENRY FRANKLIN CUTLER, 1862-1945	<i>Frontispiece</i>
THE CUTLER HOMESTEAD	<i>Facing Page 6</i>
AMHERST, 1886	“ “ 41
DR. CUTLER, DWIGHT L. MOODY, MRS. WILLIAM R. MOODY, MRS. DWIGHT L. MOODY	“ “ 120
DR. CUTLER AND DR. GARHART	“ “ 168
WILLIAM R. MOODY, BISHOP DALLAS AND DR. CUTLER	“ “ 183
DR. CUTLER AND ELLIOTT SPEER	“ “ 207
GROUP OF MEDICAL STUDENTS AT THE SORBONNE, 1934	“ “ 222

THE VALLEY YEARS

1862-1877

HENRY FRANKLIN CUTLER took great interest in his ancestors. As a boy he loved to listen to tales about them and in later years he spent some time collecting information on Cutler genealogy.¹ He came of good New England stock. James Cutler, Henry's great-great-great-great grandfather, was born in England about 1606 and by 1634 had settled in Watertown.² He had difficulty in acquiring land in an already settled area, and by 1651 he had moved to the northwestern outskirts of Watertown (later Cambridge Farms, now Lexington). That he not only survived the hardships of sailing to a New World, clearing his land and building a home, but also raised a family of twelve children, and lived an evidently prosperous life, testifies sufficiently to his character. One of his descendants observes:

That he was honest and persevering . . . is evident by his acquisition of lands and payment for same. His early investment with full citizenship shows he had established a fair reputation among his fellow townsmen; while the provisions of his will, whereby sons-in-law and step-children share in his estate, manifest a large and liberal spirit.³

Lt. Thomas Cutler, James's second son, born in Watertown about 1648, moved with his father to Lexington where he continued to live as a farmer and became outstanding in civic and religious affairs. At one time or another he was elected town assessor, constable, and selectman, and for his leadership and trustworthiness was given the honorary title of Lieutenant. Lexington was still exposed to sudden Indian attacks, and in 1694 the town sent Lt. Thomas, with two others, to petition Cambridge for a portion of the public stock of ammunition. In the church he held office as "tything-man," his duties being to keep order among the restless children during the long Sabbath service. James Cutler (1687-1756), second son of Lt. Thomas, went against the main current of settlement and moved back to

Cambridge in 1718, where he became a licensed innkeeper. At heart a trader, he bought and sold land in the newly organized communities to the west, even as far away as Killingley, Connecticut.

These first three generations were plain yeomen, little different from their fellow colonists. There are the leanest records of their activities. We know only when and where and usually how long they lived, that they married and had a given number of children, pursued certain occupations and occasionally held town and parish office. Though it is evident that they enjoyed the respect and confidence of their neighbors, there was nothing outstanding about them. They had no special abilities, they did not amass fortunes, nor did they have more than an elementary education. James's third son, however, graduated in 1741 from Harvard College. As an innkeeper's son he was ranked socially twenty-third in a class of twenty-five.⁴

Robert Cutler studied for the ministry and was ordained at Epping, N. H., on December 9, 1747. He became the first minister of the new parish, an outgrowth of the Exeter parish.⁵ The character of the work and of the man is indicated in his answer to the call:

After Serious deliberation and Consultation and fervent and frequent Supplication to Heaven for directions, . . . notwithstanding the many objections I have found rising within myself against complying with your call as the greatness of the work, the awfulness of the sacred office, the difficulty of the discharge of the same, the Courage and Conduct requisite in a Minister of Epping, my own utter unworthiness and unfitness, that the Glorious Gospel of the Blessed God be Committed to my trust, the care of souls devolved on me who am the least in my father's House . . . and a fearful Apprehension of a Destruction of incursions made upon us by the Heathen Enemy without and also Animosities and Contentions within. O Lord God what am I. To these discouragements, add my own youth, . . . yet considering my Parental and Personal dedication to the work of the Ministry, the good affection and Love you have expressed towards me, your repeated desires of my settling with you in the Ministry, together with your generosity and Love to me expressed in making such provision for my Settlement, here upon arises the hopeful prospect I have (by the blessing of God) of being instrumental of his Glory and the good of your Souls and humbly trusting that my labor of Love may find acceptance by you.⁶

During his second year he was invited to become the first minister of another newly settled community, Greenwich, Massachusetts, but though he was offered "fifty-four Pounds for Settlement" in addition to an annual

salary, he chose to stay in Epping.⁷ His ministry there, however, lasted only eight years, for he was dismissed in 1755. He had added ten members to the church, and his own written records of his ministry show he had been zealous in obtaining confessions from the wayward. Perhaps he was too sedulous in his pursuit of sinners; more likely he fell a victim to the "Animosities and Contentions within."

Whatever the causes of his dismissal, they did not prevent the elders of the frontier community of Canterbury, New Hampshire, from extending "a unanimous call to settle over the people in the work of the gospel ministry."⁸ The dangers from "the heathen Enemy without" were even more acute here than they had been when he somewhat apprehensively accepted the call to preach in Epping.⁹ But he was well liked in Canterbury, and in spite of the risks he would have been glad to continue there. His dismissal from Epping, however, irrevocably disqualified him in the eyes of the New Hampshire Convention of Clergy, and "the neighboring churches refused to assist in his installation." The Convention advised the townspeople of Canterbury "to proceed no further towards Mr. C's. settlement and their advice was accepted."¹⁰

Forced to leave New Hampshire, Robert answered a second call from the parish of Greenwich, Massachusetts, where he was installed in 1760 as the town's second minister, and where he and his descendants were to remain for four generations. He took over a small church, comprising twenty men and nineteen women, at a salary which was about one fifth of that he had received at Epping. "We look upon [this as being] . . . far short of a suitable Encouragement especially considering the Circumstances of our Rev^d Pastor having a large Family of young children."¹¹ As was common at the time, he married a second wife after his first one died and had fifteen children, of whom five died in infancy.

His salary alone could not support so large a brood. Obligated to increase his earnings, he extended his activities into many fields. In 1762 he acted as an agent of the town to request the Government of the Province of Massachusetts Bay for authority to tax the lands of "Non resident Proprietors and Owners," stipulating that the proceeds "be paid to our present minister for his Encouragement in Settling among us, and in addition to the settlement already Voted him by your Petitioners."¹² The community then consisted of only "sixty [families], a considerable number of which are new Beginners, large Families, which they are not able comfortably to support."

The petition was granted, and by 1768 Robert was in a position to buy from the town at a nominal price 100 acres which had been taken over for non-payment of taxes by the non-resident proprietors, an astonishing feat considering that four years earlier he had found his salary insufficient for his support.¹³ But this was just the beginning. From the number of land deeds still extant it would appear that he took an active interest in land speculations. He built up his holdings in Greenwich to more than 310 acres. In February of 1775 he bought three full shares of land on Otter Creek, New Hampshire (now Vermont), from the committee of the township of Leicester. The former owners, having failed to comply with the provisions of the law, had forfeited their rights.

On the 17th of June, 1776, the Reverend Robert Cutler was directed by the Greenwich Selectmen to bring back the town's one gun from the Watertown Commissary, just eighty-two years after his grandfather had been sent from Lexington to Cambridge on a similar mission.¹⁴ Besides these ventures, he tried his hand at the law, acting as attorney for a number of men. And like many of his contemporaries, faced with large families and a scarcity of trained doctors, he was also an amateur physician, as the following excerpt from a prescription in his handwriting indicates:

Take the best Rhubarb in Powder two ounces and a half, Salt of wormwood a dram, Orange peel half a dram; infuse 48 Hours by a warm fire side in a quart of true Arrach. Strain it off, & putt it in a well Cork'd Bottle for use.

2 or 3 spoonfulls may be taken 2 or 3 times a week.¹⁵

In his chosen profession he was a wise and well-loved pastor. In an age when most ministers pictured God as a God of terror wielding a fiery sword and threatening Hell and eternal damnation, Robert Cutler preached a God of peace and love. "Love One Another" he tells his children in his will; "Love God especially. Live in Love and Peace; & the God of all Peace will delight in you to bless you, to build you up, & not pull you down." Almost a hundred years later an article in a near-by newspaper said of him,

. . . his sermons were original, and written so admirably, that the people loved to sit and hear; for the people love to listen to what is new, rich in thought and clear in expression. And the people wished for the coming Sabbath, and the day was hailed with joy, that they might repair to the place of worship, and listen to the exercises and exchange friendly greetings.¹⁶

There are few clues as to what gave Robert Cutler, the innkeeper's son,

the desire for a higher education, but that he realized what it had meant to him and hoped one of his grandsons might enjoy the same advantage is evidenced by his will, in which he left "all my Latten, Greek & Hebrew authors to be reserved for a grandson, should either of my Childⁿ educate one at either of the colledges."¹⁷ Three generations later Henry Cutler was to look back on him and on his education as something of an inspiration.

Dudley, Robert's second son, lived and farmed the portion of land in the west and north part of Greenwich which he had purchased and inherited from his father.¹⁸ Dudley's second son, Daniel, was an extremely able and energetic man. He farmed, "was a celebrated teacher in . . . the Public Schools,"¹⁹ as well as a tax assessor and town selectman. He married a much-sought-after girl, Olive Kelley, a Quaker. In 1837, the first year of a depression, Daniel wrote to his nephew, Rensselaer, in Prairie River, Michigan, for advice about selling his Greenwich farm and moving west. He was probably facing the difficult task of competing with the farm products of the West. But was it worth pulling up his roots, selling all his land, and risking a long trip with a young family and the back-breaking work of starting over again? And all this alone, for Olive Kelley had died early in 1836.

It seemed like a fool's venture. Yet the newspaper reports from the West had been glowing. Then came Rensselaer's answering letter: "I have the chill fever which attacks me very violent when I have the Ague."²⁰ Rensselaer listed the names of others Daniel knew and told how they too had the fever.

In relation to a new country you can't find any place but what is unhealthy to the first settling imigrants. . . . Michigan is very unhealthy. . . . My advice is to all who has a good situation in Mass. and well off not to think of emigration to the west for we are deprived of numerous privileges which you enjoy in Mass. but grain that is raised here is superior to any in the eastern states.

I think if I had your farm I should never think of emigrating to the West for the many hardships in getting settled and habituated to the country but I do not advise every one so for I like to have my relatives come in.²¹

Accepting his nephew's advice, Daniel remained in Greenwich farming and teaching.

Of Daniel's four sons, William died in his sixteenth year, and George and Henry left the valley, the former to become a merchant in Ware, the latter a hotel keeper at Windsor Locks, Connecticut. This left the farm to



THE CUTLER HOMESTEAD

the youngest boy, Daniel Smith, father of Henry Cutler. In 1859 Daniel married Adaline E. Sibley of Prescott, the next village to the west of Greenwich.

A history of the Sibleys would read much like that of the Cutlers. John, the first of the line to come to Massachusetts, landed at Salem in 1629, five years before James Cutler's name is recorded in Watertown.²² In the eighteenth century the family moved west to Sutton. Tarrant Sibley, John's great-great grandson, marched as a private in "Capt. John Putnam's (Sutton) Co. of Minutemen, . . . on the alarm of April 19, 1775; service 2 weeks." In fact, nine out of the ninety-seven officers and men of the company were Sibleys. Later as a corporal in "Capt. March Chase's Co." he "marched from Sutton to Saratoga to reinforce the Northern Army."²³

The Sibleys were big, thick-set men. Tarrant's father, Jonathan, was so large that years after his death people spoke of him as almost a giant. Tarrant himself was huge in build, and his children "were all full-chested." It is further recorded without qualification that his family were "all successful business men."²⁴

Adaline Sibley's mother's family, the Carys, were also early settlers. John Cary settled in Plymouth colony in 1634 from Somersetshire (near Bristol). He was one of the first pioneers of Duxbury and of Bridgewater, becoming in 1656 Bridgewater's first and only town officer, the constable. Later he was made the first town clerk, remaining in this office until his death. In the eighteenth century his great-grandson Zebulon Cary moved west to Ward (now Auburn).²⁵

As in the case of the Cutlers, the Sibley and Cary families were not unusual. Their way of life and what they accomplished were repeated many times over in the lives of other colonists. The original settler had the courage to start out anew in a strange and hostile world, and succeeding generations pushed inland, though they resisted the current of the westward movement and remained in a backwater. They were driven neither by want nor by dissatisfaction, for they had good lands and were respected members of their communities.

What manner of men were they? What traits of character, acquired and inherited, did they and their descendants possess? They had shrewdness, the capacity to work hard and long in order to wrest a living from the rocky farmland, frugality, the ability to use the material at hand to best advantage, and a working knowledge of democracy in the small, that of

town and parish. Almost all of them held public office many times. The resulting sense of community interdependence was deeply impressed upon them in the responsibility of seeing that roads were repaired, fences kept up, the poor cared for, the children educated, and taxes assessed and collected. The self-sufficiency of the farm was repeated in the larger self-sufficiency of the town. Socially as well as politically, the town meeting was a most important event. It took more than bad weather to keep the citizens away, for the problems raised there touched them all closely and the discussion was likely to be heated. This awareness of community responsibility Henry Cutler grew up with, and it became a part of him. In his case, as in the Reverend Robert's, he assumed wider responsibilities as his education and travel increased his awareness of them. These New England men were his forebears, and from this heritage he drew inspiration.

Henry Franklin Cutler, the son of Daniel Smith and Adaline Sibley Cutler, was born in Greenwich, Massachusetts, on May 27, 1862.²⁶ That spring opened with the promise of an early capture of Richmond by General George B. McClellan, and closed with his withdrawal from the Peninsula. The *Springfield Weekly Republican* characterized May 24 to 31 as "the most extraordinary week of the whole war—a week of needless defeat and retreat, and of sudden panic and quick reassurance."²⁷ The "needless defeat" was that of General N. P. Banks, which the *Republican* felt was the result of unnecessary withdrawal of his troops to strengthen McClellan. There was "sudden panic" when this withdrawal left Washington unprotected, and "quick reassurance" at the outburst of popular patriotism which followed Governor John A. Andrew's call for militia. That fall, at a meeting of the town of Greenwich on September 2, Daniel Smith Cutler was chosen one of a committee of eighteen "to transact the business to borrow the money for the town and pay to such volunteers a bounty of One Hundred Dollars when they are accepted into the United States service for nine months."²⁸

Henry Cutler was born in the middle of a bloody war which absorbed the energy of the whole nation. Its effect was felt even in Greenwich where its force thrust the town into the stream of our country's development for the first time since the Revolution. After the Civil War Greenwich again became a backwater, and its life was little affected by those highly charged events of the Reconstruction years that jarred America during the presi-

dencies of Andrew Johnson and Ulysses S. Grant. It was in this quiet country town that Henry Cutler spent his first fifteen years.

The township of Greenwich, lying almost in the geographical center of Massachusetts, was just over eleven miles east of the Connecticut River.²⁹ Greenwich measured about seven and a half miles from north to south, two and three quarter miles from east to west at its widest. Two 1100 foot ridges edged the town's eastern and western sides. The two-mile-wide floor between these walls was generally flat. The exceptions were Mounts Lizzie and Pomeroy, which thrust their cones abruptly upwards about four hundred feet from the Greenwich plain. Even today they rise high above the surface of the new reservoir. The land was well watered by the middle and east branches of the Swift River, which widened out into four sizeable ponds. Numerous streams, feeding these branches, irrigated the entire township. The Indians called the area Quabbin—"many waters."

According to the gazetteers of the day:

The town exhibits several natural features that attract the eye of the traveler, and afford a fine diversity of landscape.

. . .

The land is elevated, rocky, and hard to cultivate; yet the soil is fertile, and good crops of hay and grain are produced. . . . The air is healthful, and the people industrious.

. . .

Many, from a distance make it their summer home on these accounts.³⁰

The "healthful climate" and fertile, moist soil made this region attractive to the Indians. When Henry Cutler was a boy many of their arrowheads and implements were still being turned up by the ploughshares.³¹ In 1732 the descendants of one hundred and twenty veterans of the Narragansett Indian fight of 1675 were given the right to settle there by the government of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, after the original tract, granted in New Hampshire, proved unsuitable. Quabbin was chosen in 1735 and settled in 1737.

The town, less than five miles east of Pelham, the home of Daniel Shays, took an active part in that rebellion. The largest recorded population was 1460 in 1800. It fell off sharply in the next twenty years with families moving west into New York and Ohio, until in 1820 there were only 778.³² The encouragement given to manufacturers after the War of 1812 brought small factories to Greenwich to make use of the water power. By 1855

there was "considerable manufacturing . . . a scythe factory, two saw mills, one grist mill, and two fork and rake factories. There are other mills in various parts of the town, of less importance."³³ A plating business and button factory were operating at this time. This manufacturing activity was probably responsible for temporarily halting the gradual decrease in population, which from 1820 until 1850 remained at about 800. During the Civil War Greenwich supplied sixty-three men to the Union army, two more than required. Those sixty-three equaled ten per cent of the population, which by 1870 had declined to 665.

The town was organized as a parish in 1749, and a call was extended to the Reverend Robert Cutler to settle as minister. Upon his refusal the Reverend Pelatiah Webster, a graduate of Yale, was chosen. The Reverend Robert became the second minister of the Church of Christ in 1760, and remained there until his death twenty-six years later. The pastorates of three ministers accounted for eighty-eight out of the one hundred and two years prior to Henry Cutler's birth. The Reverend E. P. Blodgett, the pastor in that year, had already held the position for nineteen years and was to continue for thirty-four more. The unbroken service of these ministers imparted a feeling of stability and security which, added to the attractions of beauty, fertile soil, and family roots, made it almost impossible for those who liked farming to tear themselves away.

There were two villages in the township of Greenwich. Greenwich Plain, the old center of the town, comprised a few houses, the church, post office, rail depot, and a store. Greenwich Village included many more houses, the mills, stores, a hotel and another post office.

The Cutlers owned 165 acres of land in and about Greenwich.³⁴ Their house was on the Home Farm or the "Old Place," so called because it had been lived on and tilled by four generations of Cutlers. Situated near the Prescott town line on the north side of the road leading from Prescott to Hardwick, it consisted of about 45 acres, of which twenty-six stretched out directly behind the barn in fertile level land. The middle branch of the Swift River ran through its eastern section and another small creek ran north and south through it.

The other Cutler lands were well-balanced for farming, and were all easily accessible from the centrally situated Home Farm. On the south side of the road directly across from the Home Farm the Cutlers owned still another tract of about 15 acres with house and farm buildings. The pas-

tures for heifers and dry cows were situated in Prescott a half-mile away. The woodland was two miles from the home, and thirty-six acres of meadow land bordered the Swift River, a half mile down the road toward Greenwich Village.

The Cutler home stood on a small hill. The simple story-and-a-half clapboard building, painted white, with a central chimney, contained five rooms downstairs, two bedrooms and an open chamber, or attic room, upstairs. Henry Cutler slept in the attic room. Woodsheds connecting with the house extended north towards the barn, which stood on a gentle rise. The carriage shed faced the woodshed.

Henry was named for his father's brother, who took a great interest in him as a baby. Late in life he wrote, "Thanks to my Uncle Henry I was walking at 8 months."³⁵ The first incident that Henry remembered was an accident that almost killed him when he was two years old.³⁶ A colt kicked him just over his left eye and cracked his skull, leaving a scar that remained all his life and was always tender. If he had been struck there again the blow might easily have been fatal. His parents found him lying in the barnyard. He "remembered" this accident because his father and mother told him about it so many times.

Farm life, always dangerous, seemed to offer special hazards for Henry. The axe can be deflected by a knot and gash a foot. Fingers and hands are easily caught in farm machinery. Henry suffered numerous accidents, so numerous that he was unable to remember all of them, though they left their marks on his body in countless scars. It seems a wonder that he lived through his youth without being permanently maimed. His parents were prepared for the worst. One day, when he was three or four, fearing he had wandered into the nearby brook and been drowned, they hunted desperately for him. Such was their relief upon finding him asleep in a cart in the sun that in after years they told and retold him of their worries, and again he "remembers" this incident, because he had heard it so often.

Henry was run over twice. When six years old he happened to be riding on a load of corn arranged in bundles. As the wagon entered the barn with a jolt, he grasped at the corn to regain his balance, but he and a bale fell off and two wheels of the wagon passed over him. "I suppose that the bundle helped me to escape death."³⁷ The second time he was returning with his parents from Prescott, when he slipped getting off the thill and fell under the wheels. Bad luck seemed to dog him.

. . . I was riding with my mother in the buggy. . . . Boylike, I was riding on the back of the buggy with my toes between [the] spring and the sloping back-side. There was a bridge in the valley and when the horse passed over the bridge, it rattled the horse. He started up and I fell over backwards with [the] back of my head on the ground. The shoes held and I was dragged on the road with my toes and ankles bent over with my face up so that I could not do anything. There were some farmers in the field, making hay; they came and lifted me up. I could not walk; the strain on my toes and ankles was extreme.³⁸

One day he was helping move hay into the barn.

Suddenly the pole broke in the middle of the load of hay. I was astride the pole. I plunged down head first on the barn floor. Fortunately I put out my hands to save . . . [my] head. . . . My hands and knees were paralyzed. It was a wonder I did not break my neck.³⁹

Still another time he was leading a horse when a bolt of lightning struck them both down.

Undoubtedly the most dangerous mishap of all occurred while Henry was leading an unruly heifer along a road where young birch trees had been cut off with one blow of an axe, close to the ground, leaving many sharp spikes. The heifer pulled Henry off the road into the birch spikes, where he tripped and fell, tearing open his side.⁴⁰

These were only the worst injuries. They made as deep an imprint on his memory as on his body, and when he was asked to tell of his early years in Greenwich he was most likely to relate his serious accidents. Yet he was never frightened away from farming. He loved the life, the routine of chores, the hard physical labor that made a strong body. His favorite job was the dangerous one of breaking in a pair of steers for dragging the farm sled. Considering his own fearlessness and his later love for medicine, it is amazing to hear that the sight of blood flowing from an axe wound in his sister's foot so affected him that for a few minutes he was unable to help her.

Henry, as an only son, was able to be with and work with his father from the time he was a small boy. Daniel Smith Cutler was a great influence and steadying force in his son's life. He was a short, thin man, tough and leather-countenanced, with soft, penetrating eyes and a full beard that seemed to enlarge his head and emphasize his abruptly hewn nose. He never became fat and was seldom sick. He could work endlessly at the most tiring farm jobs. Even at eighty-two he was putting in a good day's

work, seven and a half hours, on lawns and gardens. A quiet man, he stayed close to his farm, leaving the valley only to go to Ware and sell his farm produce to his regular customers; occasionally he went to Orange, Athol, or Northampton. Steady, dependable, frugal, conservative, painstaking, he had to be all these things in order to run a successful farm. One observer said of him: "As one in passing looks over the rich and fruitful fields, sees waving grain, and the golden ears of corn, in luxuriant growth, he can but admire what enterprise can accomplish."⁴¹

From early association with his father Henry learned the value of economy and the importance of making every penny count. Smith Cutler had to practice frugality to exist. He held up high standards of conduct for his son, and enforced them sternly. He was called "Honest Dan" by many of his customers in Ware because he was always careful to do more and better than was required of him, and to give more than the amount ordered. Henry had this trait impressed upon him by constant association with his father, at home and on his trading trips to Ware. Henry kept this way of life as a rule of his own and one that he, too, passed on to his children. A job contracted for must be done beyond what was expected.

Mrs. Cutler, Henry's mother, a stout, comfortable woman, outgoing and outspoken, taught in the Sabbath school and was a leader at church suppers and the local prayer meetings. At home she led the family prayers and read a passage from the Bible each morning before school. Even though Henry was close to his father he inherited a number of his mother's traits. He had the broad chest and square build of the Sibleys. Like his mother he was decided and determined and, once convinced, he seldom changed his mind.

Henry was early taught that he must never be wasteful of time. From dawn until sundown there were jobs to do. His chores included sawing and chopping wood, milking the twelve cows, feeding the pigs, and caring for the calves, the two horses, the steers, and seventy-five hens. There were, moreover, two large vegetable gardens to be cared for. Each season made its own demands: the hay to be scythed, piled in rows, and brought into the barn; or the oats, buckwheat, and field corn to be cut; or the walnut trees in the field behind the barn, and the chestnut trees in the Prescott field, to be poled. Although he was a willing worker and never refused to do anything he was asked, Henry loved to play and joke. His sisters thought him a "terrible tease."⁴² One day when he wanted to hide from his small sister's prying eyes what he was doing in the woodshed, he

perched her high on top of the kitchen cupboard where she was forced to stay until rescued.

Henry grew into a strong, powerful lad. He was a hearty eater and, like all boys, he loved apple pies and doughnuts. He had a heavy head of hair, and when it grew too long, he would go up the road to the Thrashers, where Mr. Thrasher would cut it for him. In his spare moments he played croquet and whenever possible went fishing with his father. Trout were plentiful in the stream that ran across the Cutler land, and in the winter he and his father fished through holes cut in the ice. There was always great competition between them, but Henry was never quite able to match his father's skill, nor did he learn the location of all the best fishing holes. Though Henry did not shoot, he did set snares for partridges. Hating to have anyone go near them, he strenuously tried to conceal their location from his sisters.

By nature calm and rarely losing his temper, he made friends easily. He and Sam Thrasher, who lived close by, would frequently go off on short trips together, fishing or trapping, but more often they roamed the Greenwich countryside. Henry liked to climb Mount Pomeroy or visit the grave of the Indian buried on Mount Liz. He loved the woods and hills where he lived and drank deeply of their beauty. From the hills just south of Greenwich Plain on a clear day he could see far north to New Hampshire and Mount Monadnock, or southward across less elevated land far into Connecticut.

While still "a little fellow," Henry started playing the violin.⁴⁸ Unable to take lessons from a professional, he had to pick out the bowings himself. Since his elder sister could play the organ well, the neighbors would drop in in the evening and play and sing. Thanksgiving and Christmas were happy, exciting times. On Thanksgiving, turkey and four kinds of pie, apple, pumpkin, custard, and mince, were served. On Christmas Eve the presents were hidden behind the stove, to be discovered in the morning. In summer the main entertainment was the Annual Temperance Picnic, held on the fifth of July, to raise money for the minister's salary. The whole town coöperated and the festivities lasted all day. The minister and other distinguished guests spoke; the band played for singing and in the evening for dancing; former residents of the town living near-by would return for the day. On such occasions Henry's uncles from Ware and Windsor Locks spent the night at the Home Farm. Henry enjoyed these days; at the

Temperance Picnic he used to help serve the food and perform other odd jobs. Usually he was on his feet all day and late into the evening.

On Sunday the Cutlers attended the Congregational services in Greenwich Plain, and Henry went to Sabbath school as well. In the evening, neighborhood meetings of the families of one or two districts of the town would gather for prayers. The Cutlers and their neighbors usually met at the Frys because the latter were invalids. Twenty or thirty families assembled with most of their young people. There were prayers, readings from the Bible and sometimes testimonies of faith. The sessions closed with the singing of hymns.

The views of a world beyond the Home Farm and the valley were not entirely limited to those from the tops of Mount Pomeroy and Mount Lizzie. There were, of course, the reports from Henry's uncles in Ware and Windsor Locks, but it can scarcely be said that they had left the valley, for they had merely changed valleys. Their horizon, their outlook, had not enlarged. The *Athol Transcript* and the *Springfield Weekly Republican* undoubtedly helped broaden Henry's world. Of more consequence, however, were the boy's talks with his father and mother, in the course of which they often spoke of his ancestor, the Reverend Robert Cutler, second minister of Greenwich and the first Cutler to settle there. In Robert Cutler's will, fragments of which had been passed on to Daniel Cutler, Henry could read his hopes that one of his grandsons could go on to college. Many years later Henry said, writing to his own son, "The Reverend Robert was a kind of inspiration to me when I was a boy."⁴⁴ Was this because Robert Cutler was a minister, or a doctor, or a lawyer, or a successful petitioner before the colonial legislature? Was it his versatility, or his resourcefulness, or the leadership he gave his community? Probably it was all of these things, together with the realization that Robert's education had made them possible. For he had progressed far beyond the average education of his day, and had found opened to him new worlds, new fields of activity. He had gained the freedom of a larger usefulness that was to be denied Henry's great-grandfather, his grandfather, and his father, and that would be denied Henry if he stayed on the farm. Daniel Smith must have shared this realization, but if he had hopes for his son he never spoke of them explicitly. They were implicit in the backing and encouragement he gave Henry throughout his struggle for an education. Henry's father spoke too of his own uncle Jeremiah who, after preparing at Amherst Academy, went on to Amherst Col-

lege, where he died after two years during which he had given promise of brilliance.⁴⁵

It was a tradition in Henry's youth that the Cutlers should do well in their studies. When Henry answered the lesson correctly it was only what his classmates expected. "Haden't his grandfather been a teacher, and wasn't the district school named after the Cutler family, and didn't the teachers board with the Cutlers?" The Cutler District School was a mile east down the road toward Greenwich Village. Daniel Smith supplied the wood for heating it in the winter, and Henry lit the fires. This meant getting to school in time to have the building warm before the teacher and other students arrived.

The district school system expanded rapidly in the early years of the nineteenth century:

At a time when population was sparse, intercourse limited, communication difficult, supervision practically absent, and isolation the rule, the district system rendered its greatest service. It provided schools suited to the wants and needs of country people, and where and as fast as the people were willing to support them. The system was well adapted, too, to the earlier ideas as to the nature and purpose of education. Schools were then purely local affairs, and the imparting of a limited amount of information was almost their sole purpose. Knowledge then was power, and the schools were conducted on a knowledge basis, undisturbed by any ideas as to psychological procedure, social needs, or by the civic and economic problems of the present.⁴⁶

The meetings held by the citizens of the school districts were the smallest units of self-government in New England. Their decisions made the school what it was, good or bad. Not until 1882, after Henry Cutler had completed his schooling, did the laws of Massachusetts specify the subjects to be taught in the district schools. What should and should not be taught, and who should do the teaching were the responsibility of each District Prudential Committee elected at a meeting of the residents. The citizens were responsible also for the care of the buildings and the salaries of teachers. They could fix their own tax rate. This was a heavy responsibility and one that was fulfilled with extreme unevenness throughout the state.⁴⁷ The length of the school year, the courses taught, the books used, differed. The average district school year, in the sixties and seventies, lasted five months. The students might range in age from four to twenty-one, and in the Cutler District School they numbered between fifteen and twenty. "What

the children studied was worked out in a parallelogram of forces determined by the available books, the preference and ability of the teachers, and the decisions of the community."⁴⁸

The ability of the teacher was more often than not judged on whether he or she could keep order. Superior knowledge or grasp of the material to be taught was less important. The method of instruction depended on the individual. All the students, and therefore all the classes, were in one room and the teacher would move from one pupil to the next. Often teaching involved merely assigning the lessons and later asking questions, measuring the material that had been learned (and "to learn" was generally synonymous with "to memorize"). Instruction followed usually only when questions were answered incorrectly. This meant long hours of work. The result of these many difficult, harassing conditions is obvious: teachers remained on the job only for short periods. Often they were graduates of the local academies who planned to go on to college. They would teach a term or a year, or perhaps two, until they had saved enough money for another year of study.

A historian of the elementary schools writes:

The pupils' quest of learning was a lone quest, assisted by fleeting periods of personal attention from the teachers. The process of learning was largely one of getting assignments "by heart," which phrase seems to imply that mastery of school tasks was more a matter of dogged perseverance and courage than of intellectual appreciation or understanding.⁴⁹

This road to learning was rough and discouraging. Few who finished the district school went on to academies. Usually they were needed on the farm or in the sawmill or the store. Even the short school year was often interrupted by sudden or seasonal requirements of the farm. Further education was neither required nor looked upon as necessary. It was truly a lonely quest.

The town of Greenwich had an elected committee of three during the years Henry attended the district school. It inspected all the schools and helped in their management, in selecting teachers and in planning and standardizing methods of instruction. At the completion of each year it made a written report to the town. Fortunately for Greenwich, and for Henry Cutler, the Reverend E. P. Blodgett headed this committee during the sixties and early seventies. He had been settled as pastor of Greenwich since 1843 and his firm and understanding leadership had already done

much for the town. Its best educated citizen, he had gained the confidence of the whole community. It was natural that he should be chairman of the school committee and should wield great influence over education.⁵⁰ He and the other members visited the seven district schools regularly and became acquainted as much as possible with each scholar and his needs.

The committee reports are worth examining. As an expression of Blodgett's philosophy of education and of life they are of value because through his interest in education and through his pastorate he inevitably had a great influence over Henry's ideas. Daniel Cutler too, as a member of the Committee from 1872 to 1877, had a share in shaping the reports.⁵¹ But, most of all, these reports are important as indicating the standards of the whole community and the atmosphere of challenge and stimulus in which Henry grew up.

Each year Blodgett strove to impress on the townspeople the importance of children's education. Greenwich's "high and true worth, . . . is not so much its wealth and material advantages as it is the intellectual worth, the intelligence and moral culture of its children obtained . . . often in the midst of the discipline of poverty, but the love of which poverty could never conquer."⁵² The schools must be supported, not because of legal necessity but because of their relation to "the good of society." The children must be both morally and mentally educated in order that a majority so equipped should guard the interests of society, from the town organization up to the government of a mighty Republic. Blodgett felt that the most important part of school life was the discipline. "It is *vital* to the success of our educational system. It is vital in all the relations of organized society." And later on in the same report he said, ". . . what is wanted in our schools for their best success is law and obedience to it."⁵³ The Reverend Blodgett believed that respect for law and government was weakening, and that this was the fault of the schools. Since lack of deference for authority threatened the disintegration of society, the tendency toward it must be strenuously resisted by parents, teacher, and minister. Mental training that led to the abuse of freedom was worthless. Teaching must engender self-discipline and a mental and moral toughness that would resist the corrosive action of lawlessness.

Of prime importance, therefore, was the character of the teachers. Blodgett sought those who would "hold and exercise authority with a firm and unyielding, though kind and loving hand. No matter what other good

qualifications there may be in a teacher, without this, the defect is radical."⁵⁴ Since the teacher's first problem was "law and obedience to it" in the classroom, his ability to keep order in a one-room school was basic for effective teaching.

Blodgett's remarks on teaching methods indicate his conception of education. He deplored the tendency of young, enthusiastic teachers to do all the work of learning for their students, to teach too much, to give too many answers, and to fail to see that the pupil learns by his own efforts. The process should be one of guiding and encouraging young people to use their own equipment for learning. The student should "task his utmost power . . . in overcoming difficulties by his own unaided resources, and seek for help only when that strength, properly put forth, has failed. For education, in the best sense of that word, is obtained in the very process of meeting and overcoming obstacles."⁵⁵

The Greenwich committee saw the object of education as twofold, the first being to acquire such knowledge as would be necessary to lead successfully a "practical" life. The "practical" life was that of farmer or trader, the job of earning a living and of rearing children and of being an active, useful member of the community. A young man, they felt, needed to know

. . . the principle by which interest on money . . . [is] computed—by which wood is measured. He needs to understand the laws of the language he uses, and in which he learns and reads the thoughts of others. He needs to have in his mind a fixed and definite locality for the places and countries on the earth's surface. He needs to be versed in the principles and practice of good reading (this most essential part of a respectable education), such as tone, inflection, modulation, and emphasis. Spelling too must have no small place in his ideas of good scholarship.⁵⁶

Arithmetic, Bible study, grammar, geography, some history, and spelling, these were basic for all who would lead a successful and "practical" life. But quite as important was moral training. The schools should teach love of doing good, of being a better as well as a wiser human being. Education should increase one's "sphere of usefulness, and enable . . . [one] to be active in the promotion of every good thing. . . . The whole chain of moral virtues should be closely interwoven in the warp of intellectual culture."⁵⁷

The second aim of education was "the enlargement and proper balancing of the various faculties of mind, under the discipline of application to

studies which are the mind's nutriment, and by which it grows, as the body grows to maturity by healthful food."⁵⁸ Practical, useful knowledge applicable to every-day life, together with a tough, disciplined development of the mind through organized work, this was the two-fold object of education envisioned by the Greenwich School Committee.

The Committee continually urged the families of each district to take an active interest in the welfare of the schools. The townspeople, they emphasized, had not acquitted themselves of responsibility when they elected their committees. They should visit the schools to see that the buildings were well kept up and to encourage the teachers. Citizens without children also had a duty as members of the school districts.

In all their efforts to strengthen the educational system the Committee never lost sight of the fact that what really counted in the end was the development in mind and character of the individual scholar. Much could be done for the students while they were at school, but education should not cease with the classroom.

The boy that has the inspiration and force of will and determination to know and to be something will not bid farewell to progress when he quits the school-room. He will be his own teacher, will make everybody and everything about him his teachers. Whatever his employment he will seize upon his leisure hours to add to his stock of knowledge more eagerly than gold.⁵⁹

By 1876 Henry had already developed a thirst for book learning. Much of his spare time was spent reading anything he could lay his hands on, at home or in the libraries of the near-by towns. He preferred biographies, for there he could learn about men who "did things," about men, "who went on."⁶⁰

In the fall of 1876 Miss Jessie E. Smith, a young woman of about twenty, who had been forced to interrupt her college studies because of lack of money, came to teach in the Cutler District School. Through her uncle she had learned of the vacancy and she persuaded her mother to let her go on condition that she stay with the Cutlers.

Miss Smith took over the school at a difficult time, for her predecessor had failed to keep order and the students had made little progress except in misbehavior. The school committee admitted in its report that Miss Smith began her term of instruction "under rather unfavorable circumstances." She was young, little older than her oldest pupil; she was inexperienced, and she was a stranger. But the report added that "those who

did attend through the school, made good progress in their studies and showed us at their examination that their teacher had done all she could to instruct them.”⁶¹

This young woman, barely five years older than Henry and his teacher for only sixteen weeks, proved a tremendous influence in his life. Teaching for her was only a means to more education, for she had a thirst for learning that whetted Henry's. Henry, in 1876 one of the oldest students at the school, quickly realized what a great help Miss Smith could be to him. She had brought her own library with her, and into this treasure Henry delved. Each evening, as soon as supper was over, he would begin to study. He became especially interested in history, reading over and over again a biography of Napoleon among Miss Smith's books. The interest it aroused lasted for the rest of his life and led him to collect many books on Napoleon for his own library. She also had a French book which gave him an initial impetus to study that language. Some evenings his young teacher would give him extra instruction in mathematics, English and history, but most of all he liked to discuss with her what he had read during the day.

In the back of his mind Henry had long had a desire for further education, but he had not really thought it out until he met Miss Smith. At first the difficulties in his way overwhelmed him, for he had no money and his father could help with little more than moral backing and approval. But as the term progressed his enthusiasm grew and his determination strengthened. “You have inspired me,” he told Miss Smith, “to do something more than to stay on this farm with my father.”⁶²

Both Henry's parents were pleased at his ambition for more education. Smith Cutler had great confidence in his son. He once told Jessie Smith, “What Henry starts out to do, he'll do.”⁶³ This encouragement, though it was seldom if ever vocal, was a most important factor in Henry's ability to persevere in his chosen course. It would have been easy for his parents to put an end to his hopes, or to harass him in his quest so that he would sooner or later have stopped, thoroughly discouraged. Daniel Smith needed his son's help on the farm; there was too much work for one man. He might also have expected Henry to settle near him and gradually take over the running of the farm, so that his own later years would be less burdened with work and worry.

About ten miles directly north of Greenwich was New Salem, whose academy was the nearest and best school for further education. Henry was

ready to go there in the fall of 1877. At fifteen, he was short, wiry, broad-chested, with powerful arms. His features, for a boy, were delicate and well proportioned. He had been taught by his parents obedience and courtesy; he had learned frugality and a hatred of waste; he had a strong religious faith; he had a natural astuteness and an alert, inquiring mind. In addition, he was inspired by the belief that education would make him a more useful, effective Christian. This inner drive for learning which fired Henry in these early years never abated. Its intensity became refined, but, if anything, it increased each day of his life. Intellectually curious at fifteen, he was still alert and inquiring at the time of his death.

The training he had received from the demanding routine of farm life during these first years had given Henry a certain confidence. "I know how to work," he would say. He had indeed the ability to apply his whole attention to a job, regardless of the physical or mental strain. There was a negative side also to this "knowing how to work." He had the courage not to be seduced by the many excuses for straying. It meant eschewing, in his early years, the calls upon his time that youthful friendships always bring. To one who so easily made friends and who so thoroughly enjoyed association with others, this was the severest trial. The road to education was to be indeed a lonely one.

THE LONELY QUEST

1877-1886

But as Americans we have a special mission. Ours the task to accomplish something in true art, in pure science, in literary and economic studies, and as college men to enlarge the righteous remnant and keep the ideals and aims of the scholar.

OUR AMERICAN BUSINESS SPIRIT BY DANIEL FISK KELLOGG
Amherst Class Day Oration, Class Book, 1886

THE years 1877-1886, when Henry Cutler was going to school and college, spanned a period of extraordinary national growth and achievement. The population increased over ten million—from about 47,000,000 to 57,000,000. Immigration, which averaged a little over 250,000 in the 1870's, rose to an average of more than 500,000 in the 1880's. In 1876 Colorado became the thirty-eighth state of the Union. Railroad mileage nearly doubled. The number of wage earners jumped almost fifty per cent; business establishments grew a third. Moreover, Edison in 1879 invented the incandescent lamp, and in the following year improvements in the dynamo greatly increased its efficiency and revolutionized both industrial and domestic life. By 1883 the Northern Pacific had completed the second transcontinental rail line, and in that same year the Pendleton Act, the first comprehensive civil-service law, was passed, having received great impetus from President Garfield's assassination in 1881 by a disappointed office seeker. In 1884 Grover Cleveland was elected president, the first Democrat to win that office since 1856. In 1886 the Knights of Labor reached the apogee of their power and the start of their decline, and that same year saw the bloody Haymarket riot and the organization of the American Federation of Labor from the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions, formed in 1881. In the field of literature, the two poles were represented by Mark Twain (*The Prince and the Pauper*, 1881 and *Huckleberry Finn*, 1884) and Henry James (*Portrait of a Lady*, 1881). Helen Hunt Jackson's

Ramona and Lew Wallace's *Ben Hur* were enjoying a tremendous vogue. Somewhat apart from these writers, but always interested and ready to encourage, was the presiding figure of American letters, William Dean Howells, whose *Rise of Silas Lapham* appeared in 1884. Little by little Henry Cutler's education was to break down the barriers, which in Greenwich had isolated him from the rest of the world, and he became aware of these events.

The two main deficiencies that he had to supply before he could enter college were money and scholastic preparation. The choice of a school was easy, since New Salem Academy, on a high ridge just ten miles to the north, overlooked the valley. Daniel Smith had often spoken to Henry about the Academy, for he himself, and probably Mrs. Cutler as well, had attended it.¹ "Gradually there grew into my early years a purpose to get an education in which New Salem was the first ideal."² In Smith Cutler's mind, the Academy's name was linked with that of Amherst College, ten miles to the west of the Home Farm. Going to the one he hoped would mean that Henry would go to the other.

The Academy had been founded in 1795 with "the purpose of promoting piety, religion, and morality, and for the instruction of youth in such languages and in such of the liberal arts and sciences as the Trustees shall direct."³ Two years later it received a grant from the State of Massachusetts of "one half of a township of land of six miles square . . . in the District of Maine," provided the trustees should raise an endowment of \$3000.⁴ Although this academy, like others to which similar grants were made, was nominally a private institution and charged a tuition fee, it was actually a community enterprise and was not run for private profit. In the 1840's and 1850's, the student body averaged close to two hundred a year, but by 1877-1878, Henry Cutler's first year at New Salem Academy, it was feeling the pressure of competition of the new public high schools, and by 1880 only about thirty students remained. Henry's own class comprised two girls and one other boy.⁵

What kind of an education could Henry expect from an institution which, though doomed to be superseded by the new public high schools, still asserted its independence and its superiority to them? A three year "Course of Study," organized in 1874, provided the intellectual fare, a series of offerings in which the modern sciences had begun to invade the classical curriculum only to create a confusing patchwork:

Latin Grammar and Reader . . . , Advanced Arithmetic, Physical Geography . . . , English Grammar and Analysis . . . , Book-Keeping . . . , Algebra. . . . Second year. Higher English, Virgil . . . , Rhetoric, Natural Philosophy [Science] . . . , Physiology . . . , Geometry. . . . Third year. Mental science . . . , Moral Science . . . , Chemistry . . . , Geology . . . , Astronomy . . . , Botany . . . , English Language . . . , English Literature.⁶

On August 21, 1877, when Henry Cutler arrived at New Salem Academy, the first goal in his struggle for an education, he felt that "a new hope was beginning to be realized."⁷ Its physical setting alone must have been deeply inspiring. New Salem is situated on an eminence over eleven hundred feet above sea level. As one looks northward into New Hampshire from the tower of the school building, the earth seems imperceptibly to lose altitude except for one gigantic green-forested saw-tooth (Mount Monadnock) jutting suddenly up out of the rolling countryside. To the east, Mount Wachusett towers over the intervening ridges, and to the south the valley of the Swift River disappears into the hills of Connecticut. A still higher portion of the town bars the view to the west. It is easy to see why Henry Cutler vividly remembered many years later the school's first fall outing day, when everyone gathered in the woods for a picnic "and sang songs and watched the colors of the autumn foliage." For sheer beauty the location would be hard to equal.

Henry and his older sister Mary went to New Salem together as self-boarders that first year. Each Sunday evening they were driven over to the foot of the New Salem hill by their mother or father, taking with them their food for the week. They lived in the "old," or North, boardinghouse at a cost per term of \$4.00. "Self-boarding" meant really that they took care of themselves entirely. They had to "find" their own beds, bedding and utensils, "and must provide themselves with fires, lights, towels, napkins, toilet articles, washing."⁸ They had to heat their rooms with wood they themselves bought, and cook their meals over fires they made. Much of the food Henry had planted, cared for, and harvested himself. He even baked his own bread.

The year of Henry's arrival, New Salem Academy welcomed a new head teacher, William H. Smiley, "a recent graduate of Harvard College" who "without coveting the title of 'professor,' so cheap and so common, . . . has especial merit in Greek, in German, and in free-hand drawing."⁹ It was Henry Cutler's good fortune to meet, when he needed them most,

exceptionally fine teachers to inspire and guide him. At the Cutler District School there had been Jessie Smith; here at New Salem there was Mr. Smiley.

William Henry Smiley, though small in stature, was a giant in the influence he exerted over the boys and girls he taught during his long, useful life. Like his pupil, Henry Cutler, he had had to struggle for an education. His father having died when he was five, his mother had worked hard to see that he had the schooling he wanted. After his freshman year in college he worked for a year in a Boston department store. Graduating high in his class, he came immediately to New Salem, where he remained for three years as head teacher. In 1883 he moved to Denver where he became in rapid succession teacher, then principal of the East Denver High School, and finally superintendent of all Denver schools and one of the town's leading citizens. During his lifetime he received four honorary degrees, a library and a new Junior High School were named after him, and Denver eulogized him:

To make them hate the cowardice of doing wrong—that is what Dr. Smiley has sought to accomplish for three generations of Denver students.

To the boys and girls of the 80's and their children and their children's children, the beloved name of William H. Smiley stands for the most humanizing and the most cultivating influence in their lives. His warm personal friendship for his pupils, his penetrating understanding of their aspirations and generous charity to their failings won for him and will keep for him always, a unique place in the affection of the people of Denver.¹⁰

This was the man whom Henry F. Cutler was to have as a mentor for the next three years (1877–1880). That Smiley excelled as an instructor was all the more important because so much of the teaching at New Salem fell to him. Henry himself, in speaking of his years there, mentions no other.¹¹ Here again he was fortunate in meeting someone able to convince him that he had the power within himself to realize his hopes. It was not a single action that accomplished this; it was many. More persuasive than any contact of student and teacher in or out of the classroom was the way Smiley lived his own life, combined with his ability to make studying a thrilling adventure. "Principal Smiley gave me a love for Latin and an increased desire to go to college," Henry recalled later. More important still, he gave "great help to me in those days, when I needed encouragement and direction."¹²

The curriculum of the District School had gone little further than the three R's; it included reading, spelling, arithmetic, geography, grammar, perhaps a little United States history, and now and then a course called Manners and Morals. This comprised a limited intellectual experience. No wonder Henry found the new and broader subjects exhilarating. "The whole world of science and literature and language" was suddenly opened up to him:

I remember the thrill I had when we really began what we then called the higher studies and particularly Latin. It was the introduction to a new world. It was opening the first acquaintance with the great classics of literature and the great thoughts of great minds outside my then known world.¹³

That he was fascinated by Latin, was not a little due to W. H. Smiley, who communicated his own infectious enthusiasm to his pupils. Smiley, inclined to minimize his own talents, insisted that his students "profited by the fact that I did no worse because I had had some very unusual teachers during both my high school and college years."¹⁴

Though Henry was unable to attend New Salem continuously, he usually managed to be present for the fall and spring terms. He did not, however, cease studying when he dropped out of school. In the evenings after his farm work he would continue on his own, putting the bulk of his time into Latin. On Saturday afternoons he would drive over to New Salem to study with Mr. Smiley, who continually encouraged him and helped him to keep before his eyes the goal of a college education.¹⁵

Henry, as a matter of fact, needed little more encouragement than the stimulus of the new world opened up to him by his course of study at New Salem. Fifty years after his entrance he was to say: "'New Salem Academy.' It still has its fascination as I pronounce its name. Place of privilege when just that was needed."¹⁶ To him, learning itself was a privilege. "New Salem Academy was for me the gateway from the farm to teaching district school and to college and to European study and travel."¹⁷

Henry completed the prescribed course at New Salem in November of 1880, although he did not receive his diploma until the following June. He had now surmounted one of the barriers to his college education: he had the necessary preparation. Within two weeks after completing the requirements for graduation from the Academy he took steps to overcome the second obstacle, lack of funds, by leaving for Guilford, Vermont, where there was an opening in District School Number 4.

Guilford is just over two miles southwest of Brattleboro. The eastern boundary of the township lies along the Connecticut River valley. The land is hilly—abrupt hills that descend to narrow stream-cut valleys. Farming is difficult and confined. The east central School District (Number 4) of the township was also called the “Slate Quarry” District. Slate was the principal roofing material used in those days, and the profitable quarrying drew many Irish immigrants as laborers.

Henry’s salary was probably no more than \$35.00 for a term, including room and board. Some of the townspeople paid their taxes by supplying board and room to the district teachers, and as soon as their indebtedness was discharged the teacher was forced to move to another home. The district teacher’s fondest hope, therefore, was to board with a man who had a large tax bill. During Henry’s first term in Guilford he moved three times.

. . .

The public examination of teachers will be held at the town hall on Saturday, 27th inst. Friends of education and all citizens are invited to attend.¹⁸

This announcement appeared in a Brattleboro paper on November 19, 1880. He wrote home three days after his arrival in Guilford:

I have so much to say that I don’t know hardly where to begin. . . . I arrived here at Mr. Weatherheads (my first boarding place) Sat. morning at about half past eleven, took dinner and proceeded to be examined a distance of about three miles, over the hills across lots, where I found an old man about sixty or seventy years old examining the other teachers of the town who had been there ever since nine or ten o’clock in the morning.

They had a list of questions printed on paper seventy percent of which had to be answered in order to obtain a certificate. I thought my case looked pretty difficult for I had only an hour and those other old teachers had been there all day and hadn’t finished then. I worked about an hour when it began to grow dark and the old man said that he must go home and what to do I did not know, but finally decided to go home with him which I did and staid with him over night and the next day he gave me a certificate. [It was Sunday by then.]

Henry received an 80 average in the examinations he had taken. He was marked 90 in arithmetic and grammar, but in geography, history and civil government he received only 70, these questions being nearly all about Vermont:

I didn’t know anything about how many and where the colleges and normal schools were and how they chose the gov. and how often; how many counties,

cities, inhabitants &c there were if they had been asked about [my] state I might have told but about this state I could not.¹⁹

Evidently the elementary school course in geography, history, and civil government almost completely ignored the world beyond the state borders.

On Monday morning "I came back here again and commenced school with sixteen scholars and today I had three more which makes nineteen of whom the oldest is *twenty*, the youngest *four*."²⁰ Henry's first problem, well ahead of any teaching, was to establish control over the heterogeneous roomful. Only eighteen, he was younger than some of his pupils and also a stranger in Guilford. Moreover, he was not of commanding stature and probably looked like an easy victim for the older boys, several of whom were much larger than he. This was a challenge that faced all teachers, but it loomed larger in the district school where the teaching of all grades was done by one man. Henry himself had some qualms: "I am in hopes I shall be able to get along with them [the students] and think I shall but at present it looks rather dubious, but trust . . . all will come out well bye and bye."²¹ To add to his discomfort he learned that his predecessor had been forced to leave because he could not establish discipline.²² From the very outset his fears were confirmed: "The first week *Oh my!!* there was so much whispering and noise that it was almost impossible to stay there." Something had to be done immediately or his position would be irretrievably lost.

One strapping boy, who seemed to be the ringleader, looked as though he were plotting serious trouble. Henry determined to strike first. Making inquiries, he discovered that the boy loved to go fishing. One day after school he asked if he knew where there were some good holes around Guilford. The boy, at first suspicious, gradually warmed up, and within a few minutes they had arranged to try their luck and skill together that afternoon. The new teacher had no further difficulties.²³ This incident illustrates Henry's astuteness and his inherent ability to judge a human situation and to act quickly to remedy it. It was the first test of his leadership, a difficult one for a very young man who looked even less than his years. But as one who had himself been full of mischief at school, he could think back on his own pranks and consider what would have been the best way to handle the culprit.

It was not very long before Henry was greatly respected, not only by his students but by their parents and the neighbors as well. They recognized

the fine quality and thoroughness of his work. One of his pupils remembers that "he never had any trouble in school." Though he was very strict, he was kind and scrupulously fair.²⁴

As each week passed Henry became more fond of his school. It was known as "a *rough school*. . . . I guess it is as good as its name but I think I am getting along first rate and have got the scholars so they mind pretty well and behave very well."²⁵ He had gained confidence in himself and in his ability to handle the problems as they arose. Far from disturbed by the report that a young girl, who had already taught in a district school, was to become one of his students, he welcomed the challenge of her presence.

In the early winter Henry was sent to board with the Patrick Ryans. Young John Ryan and Henry, who were of the same age, immediately became fast friends. Together they took long walks or went fishing and talked of their plans and hopes. Henry had decided to spend the spring term at Powers Institute in Bernardston, Massachusetts, nearly ten miles south of Guilford, which reputedly combined the best features of high school and academy education. It had a good reputation in preparing young men for college and Henry felt he needed more work before taking the entrance examinations for Amherst. Since John Ryan, too, wanted more education, in March of 1881 they entered Powers Institute together.²⁶ No record remains of Henry's short attendance there, for he was dismissed during the term for helping one of the girls to disobey the principal. She had received word that her father was mortally ill, and begged for permission to go home, but the principal refused. Bitterly disappointed and wrought up, she determined to ignore the decision, and Henry, sympathizing with her predicament, proceeded to drive her home. Immediately upon his return he was dismissed. There was no romantic attachment. It was just his sympathy for the girl and consciousness of an injustice that prompted his action.

By this time it was early in 1881 and Henry returned to Greenwich to help his father with the spring plowing and planting. He worked on the Home Farm during the summer and early fall, returning to Guilford to teach during the winter term 1881-1882.²⁷ Though the salary was not enough to pay his way through college, it did allow him time to prepare for examinations.

The entrance examinations for Amherst in 1882 were spread over two

days and comprised English, French, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, Latin prose composition; Caesar, Cicero and Latin grammar; Virgil, Ovid and Latin prosody; ancient history; Anabasis and Greek prose composition; and the Iliad. The theme of the English examination was to "be drawn from one of the following books: Shakespeare's *Othello*, Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* and *Deserted Village*, Scott's *Bride of Lammermoor*," and "the candidates . . . [would be] expected to read all the books assigned for the year in which they offer themselves for examination."²⁸ This was a set of formidable hurdles for a young man whose last formal education was already two years behind him.

Henry's work for the year, thus mapped out for him, allowed little time for wasted effort. He had no one to help him with the preparation. W. H. Smiley had left New Salem Academy in 1880, and Jessie Smith was no longer teaching in the Cutler District School. Nevertheless these months in Guilford and Greenwich were not care-ridden. Henry enjoyed studying and reading, and eagerly looked forward to the time he could spend at his books, knowing that each hour so spent brought him that much closer to his goal of a college education. He also found plenty of opportunity for fishing, hunting, outdoor sports, and all the other pleasures of a normal and happy boyhood. His natural vigor did not fail him and, whatever the difficulties of preparation, the examinations were passed and the summer spent in eager anticipation.

Amherst in 1882 had a population of slightly more than 4,300.²⁹ It was a quiet, small town which differed from the others in the county because of its two educational institutions, the State Agricultural College to the north, and Amherst College to the south. In the fall of 1882, Amherst College was entering its sixty-first year with a student body of 352, two-thirds of them New Englanders, the majority coming from rural communities, and having prepared for college at local high schools. The freshman class, to which Henry Cutler belonged, numbered eighty-two. The members were not widely representative, nor did they differ radically from the sort of people among whom he had grown up. Farmers' sons were in the majority and only thirteen of the class were sons of college graduates. Less than half smoked and their favorite drink was soda. Republicans outnumbered Democrats seven to one.³⁰

Of the twenty-eight members of the faculty only two were not Amherst graduates. It was a close family group, but even though it was inbred, the

intellectual air was stimulating and healthy. President Julius H. Seelye used to say that he chose Amherst men for his faculty for the same reason that Columbia chose them: they were the best. But there were other considerations. According to one student of Seelye's Amherst: ". . . it is perfectly clear that his chief criterion was personal character. He was looking for men who sympathized with the evangelical tradition of the college, and where else should he seek them than among its graduates?"³¹ Many of the professors were ordained ministers, and Seelye himself had made certain when he was appointed president that he would also be the college pastor. He taught part of the senior course in philosophy as well, and this, combined with his pastorate, meant that he exerted great influence on the students. His religious and educational beliefs are worth examining here, because he created the atmosphere in which Henry Cutler was to live for four formative years.

Seelye believed that: "Education is the creation and training of character. What men are, not what they know, tests the work of the college." It should tend "first of all to make the student pure and upright."³² "The College, while not sectarian, is distinctively Christian," declared the catalogue of 1882. "When the first building was dedicated, and the first President and Professor were inaugurated, 'the promotion of the religion of Christ' was declared to be the special object . . . and this still remains the first and chief aim of the College." The cultural goal was important, but no more so than the goal of forming "a character of Christian manliness and . . . the preparation for a life of Christian usefulness."³³ Seelye expected his teachers to make this their aim. "In this Christian college," he wrote, "all your words and works, as well as the silent manifestations of your inner life, will be I trust consciously consecrated to Him . . . whom it will be all your ambition to make all your pupils deeply and truly to know."³⁴

Theologically Seelye was a creed-bound fundamentalist, but he never interfered with the teaching of his colleagues, and there were those who radically disagreed with him.³⁵ Under his administration, the standard of scholarship and instruction at Amherst steadily improved and the curriculum was broadened. Whatever the actual basis for choosing the faculty, an outstanding and devoted group taught there during the eighties. It is the conclusion of Amherst's most recent historian that the teaching there was never more fruitful than under Seelye.³⁶

If the degree of piety was lessened as a result of a broadened curriculum,

the importance of religion and the Bible was reaffirmed at two services in the college church on Sunday, class prayer meetings Sunday evening, Thursday evening preaching, and prayers at eight o'clock every weekday morning. "Christian culture" was the heart of the Amherst education and "the Bible its corner stone and top stone."³⁷

On September 7, 1882, Henry F. Cutler, aged twenty, matriculated. He was short, just under five feet five inches, and slight in build, weighing only 127 pounds.³⁸ With the other freshmen he stood up in chapel "and, repeating the solemn words of . . . [the] President" swore to observe the college regulations.³⁹ To Henry, however, the problem of meeting financial demands was far more urgent than his compliance with the rules. His application for a scholarship had been denied.⁴⁰ Evidently his need did not seem great enough, or, more likely, his entrance examinations showed no great intellectual promise. Certainly the results of his first few assignments supported this judgment. He was too busy earning money to put his whole heart into studying, and it was not until his junior year that he received a full scholarship. Tuition, library, and gymnasium fee for the entire year came to \$100.00. Board cost from \$3.00 to \$5.00 a week. To meet these expenses he had \$70.00 earned at Guilford and on the Home Farm, and his own strong body.⁴¹ His family could offer but little help. The first spring his father sent him \$70.00, his mother \$2.00, and his grandmother contributed \$5.00 towards a coat and \$10.00 more to see him through the term. But this was exceptional. For regular support he had only himself to depend upon.

The problem of self-help at Amherst was all the more difficult because it was unrecognized. Scholarships generally covered tuition alone. Self-support was up to the individual student, and depended on his ingenuity, hard work, and persistence. It was a lonely life because there were few who were compelled to do likewise, and doubly lonely because it cut the student off from the usual extra-curricular activities and associations. There was little or no time for talks with classmates. For all these reasons the four years at Amherst proved tough and trying ones for Henry, and he more than once seriously considered dropping out, because the difficulty of paying for an education was weakening the very education he was sacrificing so much to secure.

The first job Henry tried was that of agent for a publishing and stationer's firm. During the Christmas vacation of 1882-1883 he visited the farms and

villages near Greenwich, trying to sell books and ink from house to house. Continuing through January and early February, he earned \$6.15 by selling \$26.15 worth of books. Though profit was good, the time invested proved too great. By February he was lamenting, "I don't seem to sell my books very fast now."⁴² The region about Amherst was well canvassed by book agents, and it took too much time to go further into the country during the bad winter weather.

Part-time jobs around the college were scarce and usually poorly paid. Henry worked two full days and part of a third in the library, a total of twenty-two hours, for which he was paid the then princely sum of twenty cents an hour. It was hard, heavy, tiring work, "carrying books . . . all day. My legs ached." After the first evening he had to put a plaster on his back.⁴³ His most steady employer was Professor Richard H. Mather, but at intervals he was hired as gardener and handy man by three other professors, by the new minister Mr. Dickerman, and by a Mr. Hunt.⁴⁴ He would sow and cut their lawns, wash the family carriage, split and saw wood, plant and care for the gardens. It was the kind of work he liked best to do, and he was delighted with his twenty cents an hour.

In his sophomore year employment was still scarce, and he considered keeping hens, but a search along Northampton Avenue for a place to raise them was unsuccessful. Other opportunities came his way slowly. That same year he secured the job of pumping the church organ one hour every day at 12½ cents an hour for the first half of the term, 10 cents for the last half. It seemed too little and Henry asked for more, but extracted only a promise of 75 cents a week.⁴⁵ Gradually his diligence and persistence bore fruit. Early in October he was made janitor of Alexandria, a college debating society, at fifteen dollars for the year in addition to a free membership. He found similar work with the Hitchcock Society, an occasional chore for DKE, and he took on the job of ringing the college bell.

Professor Mather, who showed great interest in him, had him appointed, in his junior year, janitor of the Art Museum and suggested his name to the faculty for the position of monitor in Professor Marshall Henshaw's physics class. The monitors, who were chosen for their "scholarship and moral character," not only took attendance, but also reported on any disturbances or misconduct.⁴⁶ In an unruly class it was a ticklish job, and the new monitor was soon tested by his classmates. Discipline was a problem even for the professor, for the students took liberties that are practically

unheard of today, wedging him between his desk and the wall, or impertinently getting up and leaving the classroom.⁴⁷ When Henry marked one Allan Treadway for deportment, Treadway complained but to no avail.⁴⁸ Soon afterwards, when he reported a group of men for disorder, he aroused a hornet's nest of criticism. He was summoned to see the President, who backed him up. The following day he mentions in his diary "that there is a good deal of talk about me as monitor of physics," and the next morning some of his classmates hissed him. One, George E. Sill, seemed to be the leader of the disturbing element. Henry's solution to the problem was typically swift and direct. That evening he called on Sill, and before he left, Sill admitted he had not done "the right thing."⁴⁹ Henry's diary mentions no further trouble.

Vacation time was spent trying to earn money to help him through the coming year. He usually managed to earn from \$60.00 to \$100.00 working for his father on the Home Farm. The summer of his sophomore year he tried bookselling again, for he had done fairly well his freshman year. If he were able to put his whole time into covering a wider area than could be reached under the limited conditions of college life, he might make a substantial profit. Reports in *The Amherst Student* the previous fall had noted that the canvassers had a "pleasant time" as well as making a financial success.⁵⁰ On May 27, 1884, he interviewed the general agent of the John S. Willey Publishing Company and signed to sell a book called *Worth and Wealth or, The Art of Getting, Saving, and Using Money*.⁵¹ This ambitious title leaves little doubt as to the contents. Henry had to read it through himself before starting out to canvass. One would think he would have realized that he was doomed to failure, trying to sell such a book in the heart of thrifty New England. At the end of June Henry left college for Deerfield, which was to be his starting point, and where he "found board" with a Mrs. Kemp. A large part of the following day, a Sunday, he spent in church. Attending the Methodist service in the forenoon, he then went to the Congregational Sabbath school, following this by going to the meeting in the Congregational chapel in the evening. On Monday the weather was pleasant enough but the canvassing bad. He made thirteen calls and only one sale, and of that he was none too sure. But he was not disheartened, since he felt he should expect no more of his first day. Tuesday, however, was no better; again he received only one order from twelve visits, and in the evening he admitted he was "somewhat discouraged" and would change

his occupation if he could. Wednesday was worse, no orders at all, and he had traveled through Old Deerfield and Wapping. Thursday, although he walked all day, he again made no sales. The conviction was growing that he must abandon his ill-fated venture. Friday he went to Greenfield and Lake Pleasant and then home via Athol. He had sold no books during his week of travels, but he agreed with *The Amherst Student* that he "had had a very pleasant time." The following morning he went fishing with his father and caught eleven pickerel; in the afternoon he was working on the pigpen and the road, and the subject of canvassing was not mentioned again.⁵²

In February of his junior year came an entirely new opportunity for earning money, one that might allow Henry to give up his many part-time jobs, and free him to participate more fully in college activities: he received word from his roommate, Charles Guild, that he could take over the running of the college bookstore, the only place to sell books assigned in the college courses. At first Henry was not at all enthusiastic, especially since there was some talk of starting a coöperative society, which would ruin the chances of the privately owned store. He was no further impressed when he talked with the owner, C. H. Smith, a senior, or after a close inspection of the store's accounts. Smith claimed that he averaged a profit of a dollar a day. Henry discussed the proposition with Guild, and they came to the conclusion that it was a good business risk. He noted in his diary on the 28th of February, that he had seen Smith and arranged to take over three days later. The deed done, he began to doubt the wisdom of this move, in fact he was so pessimistic that he wrote of sharing "the losses." He particularly disliked having to borrow most of the purchase price.

The new responsibilities placed a heavy strain on Henry's time as well as on his energy. He was forced to travel to Holyoke and Northampton for supplies. Though his father loaned him \$100.00, even this, pooled with Guild's resources, was not enough to provide sufficient working capital. They had to make their book purchases on credit and hope that sales during the thirty-day credit period would cover their bills. March was a poor month to take over the bookstore, for the term was two-thirds over, and the required textbooks had already been purchased. The only calls were for paper and ink. At the end of the winter Henry was obliged to give a note for his board.

Deciding to advertise their enterprise, Henry and Guild had five-by-eight-

inch handbills printed announcing that the College Bookstore was under new management and that it offered "a full line of *Stationery, Blank Books, Pens, Pencils, Etc.* Also a variety of *Miscellaneous Works* of standard authors." They claimed that they were "prepared to furnish *Text Books* and all publications at short notice and at reasonable rates."⁵³ Business hours were 10:15 to 10:45 A.M., 1 to 2 P.M., and 6:30 to 7:30 P.M.

During the spring term Henry was harassed with worries about the business. It was not profitable enough to allow him to drop his many other jobs, in fact he and Guild were in debt all spring. Though the educational value of the venture must have been great, this benefit was the last to enter Henry's mind. He learned at first hand about basic business problems: inventories, gauging market demands, bookkeeping, advertising, buying and selling on credit. A number of students who lacked money to pay for books Cutler and Guild "trusted"—their own circumstances must have helped soften their hearts. Henry had to locate and come to terms with a large city book dealer. Purchasing textbooks also meant conferring with the faculty, in order to find out which ones they would be using in their courses.

Henry learned, too, the human problems involved in a business partnership. Guild did not put up as much money as he, nor did he take the responsibility of the store as seriously. With the bulk of the work devolving on Henry, the burden almost broke his health and spirits. He had been home for two weeks in July before he could say that he felt "quite well and strong."⁵⁴ In May Dr. Edward Hitchcock, noticing the strain on Henry, had offered to help him sell the business. But the school year closed with money from students they had "trusted" uncollected, and bills from Estes and Lauriat in Boston still outstanding. The problem of meeting this debt clouded much of the summer. It was only by working in the Art Gallery and monitoring physics that Henry earned the money to pay his final term bills.

The fall term of their senior year started well for the proprietors of the bookstore. Passing out handbills before chapel service on the opening day of college, Cutler and Guild precipitated a great rush of trade—about \$250.00 worth.⁵⁵ Then business leveled off rapidly and Henry found himself working long hours with little to show for it. The problem now was to get out of the book business as soon as possible. The biggest hurdle was paying their large bills, for by October 7th the stock of schoolbooks and paper was worth over \$300.00. This frightened off the first prospective

buyer, but two weeks later L. D. Record, a junior, offered to purchase the business provided he could raise enough money. On October 27th a large sale of *Prometheus Bound*, which had arrived in the morning, tempted Henry to stay in business a little longer in hopes of increasing their earnings, since he was still afraid he and Guild would be unable to show a profit for their eight months. The following day, however, when they turned over the store to Record, Henry was amazed to find that they had actually succeeded in making money. Cutler and Guild had been in debt so long and so heavily, that it seemed a miracle to be able to pay all the bills, let alone have anything left for themselves. Most of the money, however, was still on paper, and Henry had to wait for some of it until his very last days at Amherst.⁵⁶

The college authorities must have thought Henry's profits were large, for in his senior year, to his dismay, they halved his scholarship. Not only was his need still great, but his marks were improving. In fact, he had counted on a full tuition grant to make possible one unharried year at college. The bookstore receipts and a full scholarship would have assured this, but now he would have to continue the time-consuming routine of odd jobs. The continuing returns from the bookstore did make his final year at college much easier and more pleasurable. He had more time for study and in the spring he was able to play baseball and take a more active part in the college life.⁵⁷

In spite of all his jobs, Henry was never sure from one term to the next whether he would be financially able to continue at Amherst. He cut his personal expenses down to a minimum. In his freshman year, room rent, fuel, and light cost nothing, as he lived with his uncle, Theodore Paige, who owned the livery stable made famous in Amherst song. The second year he moved into a college dormitory, thereby considerably increasing his outlay. Although meals for twelve weeks cost only \$25.00, he decided to give up eating at a boarding house. Had he not boarded himself as a boy at New Salem Academy? Of course, the conditions were radically different, for at Amherst Henry had no stove, nor was he able to bring food with him each week from home. Now he was forced to live on crackers and tinned beef, bread, maple sugar, eggs, and sometimes his Aunt Nancy Paige gave him a pound of butter. After two weeks he found the strain too great and yielded to the extent of eating his dinners out; cost: \$1.00 per week. This system Henry continued the rest of the spring term. The lack of nourish-

ment, the hard physical work, and the little time he had for his studies discouraged him so much that early in May 1884 he seriously considered leaving college. "I am a good deal inclined to cut the rest of this term and would if I could get a good job."⁵⁸ He was starved for companionship as well as for food, and this contributed to his discouragement. Lack of time and money precluded joining a fraternity or participating in any way in the social life of his classmates.

His was a physically tough and demanding life. The hours were long, the remuneration small. It was difficult for a tired body to do the best studying, and yet there was little chance for rest. Arising at five-thirty in the morning, he would walk to the different sections of Amherst, putting up posters advertising the visits of noted speakers to the college. Then came morning classes, in the afternoon gym, pumping the church organ, sawing wood, drawing water, cleaning up gardens, and in the evening building fires for Alexandria. "I . . . can hardly find time enough to get through my work."⁵⁹

Henry's studies suffered. In the middle of September, just after the start of his sophomore year, Professor Mather had strongly advised his working only on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons and "to spend my time on my lessons and see what I could do."⁶⁰ Mather realized that Henry would not get a scholarship on the basis of need alone, that he must first prove his ability to do excellent scholastic work. Professor Mather felt so strongly that he told Henry he would see to it that his board was taken care of if he would give up his outside work. In fact, Henry's first term's tuition that year was anonymously paid. He was sent a receipted bill by the treasurer, and never discovered his benefactor's name.⁶¹

That Henry benefited from the financial strain of these years is debatable. He did prove to himself that he could earn enough to live on and still carry on his education. A year later he was to put this to a severe test in Europe. But the jobs from which he received money, with two exceptions, were merely a continuance of boyhood chores. Monitoring a class and running the bookstore were training of a kind, but the price paid in leading an unnatural life was high. The hours he spent in the art museum, however, he characteristically turned to his own profit. Often he would stand before a copy of a classical statue, or before a painting, studying it from all angles to discover what made it great. In later years when travelling abroad, he did the same. Little by little he taught himself to recognize and appreciate

that which is really fine in art. It is doubtful that the fight which Henry made to get an education enhanced its value. Certainly Henry himself never felt it had. Later on in life he did not refer to the difficulties he faced as good training, nor did he wish for others a similar road. He was thankful for his college education, but he never included among its good points the struggle it necessitated.⁶²

The course of study at Amherst during Henry Cutler's period of attendance, 1882-1886, was aimed at preparing a young man "for the best special work in his subsequent life."⁶³ The administrative means of accomplishing this was twofold. The first was to require of all students a basic set of courses in the fields of philosophy, history, art, language, literature, and science. This introductory training guaranteed that they would have a general knowledge of these fields, and circumvented any possibility of narrow specialization. Secondly, the student was allowed, after the first term of sophomore year, increasing freedom in the choice of his own course of study. Because of this latitude, each man was able to devote more time to his own field. Although Amherst had not gone as far as Harvard in the elective system, its curriculum allowed a wider choice than most colleges of that day.

During his first two years, therefore, Henry's course of study gave him little freedom, but a good grounding in most basic subjects. He read in Latin selections from Cicero, Horace, Livy, and Plautus, and in Greek from Homer and Plato. Mathematics covered geometry, algebra, trigonometry, and analytical geometry. In both years there were required courses in rhetoric and elocution, and in sophomore year one term of chemistry and one of French. Physical culture class took place under the kindly, watchful eye of Dr. Edward Hitchcock four days a week for the entire four years, with the exception of the last term.

For the last two years, required subjects were limited to physics, English composition, debating and philosophy, leaving the selection of most courses to Henry's discretion. He displayed catholic tastes, though whether by design or because each subject interested him is hard to say. For his sophomore elective, he chose French. In the Junior year, he elected German, history, Greek, biology, English literature, and botany, and the following year, Latin, geology, French, psychology, history, German, and art.

Henry found most of his subjects extremely difficult. He worked slowly, and often failed to complete even his class preparation. Thoroughness and



AMHERST, 1886

care were more important to him than speed and coverage. Furthermore, he carried over into his college work the laborious district school method of "learning his lessons" by rote. He painstakingly looked up and memorized each unfamiliar word in a Latin or Greek assigned translation. Naturally it was disheartening to him that many of his classmates received higher marks with much less exertion, but he never slackened his efforts. What he lacked in facility, he tried to compensate for by long hours of study. He trained himself to concentrate over extended periods without rest. This, in addition to all the outside jobs necessary for his support, created quite a strain. "I don't think it will do for me to study as hard this term as I did last term for I am afraid I shall not be able to stand it."⁶⁴ To complete the course he was charting for himself, Henry was to draw often on the great physical resiliency that he had built up in hours of strenuous farm work. When these reserves were gone, his spirit, too, would falter, and he would return to the Home Farm, where his mother's food and his father's companionship, and their love and understanding and faith in him would restore his weakened body, and strengthen his determination to continue.

By his sophomore year, the schedule of hard work began to bear fruit, and Henry found that his lessons took less time. The long memorized vocabulary lists were beginning to pay dividends.⁶⁵ Although the work was "about as hard if not harder," it came more easily to him.⁶⁶ The problem lay in learning to study. His powers of concentration were tremendous, but because of his intensity of purpose, he was never satisfied. "I frequently find my thoughts wandering away when I am studying and before I know it."⁶⁷ He believed in training his mind as he trained his father's oxen in Greenwich: by strict discipline and long hours of work.

Ten out of Henry's twenty electives were languages, the study of which he enjoyed, although he was no facile handler of words and idioms, and his knowledge of them was gained only by long hours of hard study.⁶⁸ He found the spelling of French words troublesome and the grammar even more so. The French he wrote was English more or less literally translated, seldom idiomatic.

Constantly he fought to overcome the narrow, inbred localisms in his speech, which were a serious detriment to his further studies, and prevented his conversing on an equal basis with men of broader background. His lack of progress discouraged him. He practiced many hours on a piece he was to deliver just before Christmas of his sophomore year, and felt that the

results showed progress, but by the following spring he was still worrying over his failure to make substantial improvement.

Written English was no easier. It must have been apparent to him from the start that his early education and training in composition were inadequate for meeting the requirements of college. He purchased a textbook on *How to Write Clearly*, together with a dictionary, and practiced writing, methodically increasing his vocabulary.⁶⁹ He believed in the mental exercise of committing passages to memory, and worked on learning by heart St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews. In his senior year he prepared a paper on Henry II of England, in which his difficulties were still apparent. The sentences were long and labored and the paper as a whole lacked a central theme. It was a collection of miscellaneous facts about King Henry, most of them concerning his family life, and the important issues of his reign were omitted. These were all errors that Henry was later to overcome, but it is interesting to note that he still made them during his final year in college, a year in which he made honor grades in all his studies.⁷⁰ He appreciated the importance of his own language as a tool and worked constantly to perfect it. Lacking facility, he developed over the years a certain hammered conciseness and pithiness of expression suggestive of epigrams or inscriptions. In fact he did make a practice, wherever he went, of copying down and studying inscriptions on public monuments, trying to emulate their economy of words and effectiveness.⁷¹

Henry chose history in place of Greek as one of his electives for the winter and summer terms of his junior year. At first he doubted that the mental discipline of history would equal that of Greek, but he found that "to read so much and be able to digest it" was just as demanding.⁷² Becoming fascinated with the course, he gave it as much time as he could. Here at last he was learning about men "who did things," and they held the same attraction for him as they had in the attic room of the Home Farm. He was gaining a framework for the reading he had done and was to do. The great conflicts of men and of ideas fascinated him. In Spalding's *History of the Reformation*, he felt the impact of religious beliefs diametrically opposed to all that he had been taught. There he read of how the Reformation had hindered the advance of civilization, heard Luther condemned and Calvin called "a tyrant and a bloodthirsty man."⁷³ For the first time, he was exposed to controversial opinions on a subject about which he had been brought up to expect no controversy. Until now his education had con-

sisted of carefully sorted ideas, to be learned more or less by heart. Here was material which challenged his judgment, and he responded to it eagerly.

His senior year was the most intellectually stimulating. Mainly responsible were Professors Benjamin K. Emerson and Charles E. Garman. Emerson radically opposed President Seelye's fundamentalist beliefs. His instruction went undisturbed by Seelye and he continued to teach the geological history of the world which, though now orthodox, was then the source of heated controversies. The geology class took field trips to Mount Holyoke, Turners Falls, and the Hoosac Tunnel, using all of western Massachusetts as a laboratory. This physical history of the area in which he had grown up was most exciting to Henry, and he never lost interest in it. It was to be expected, perhaps, in one who had worked the soil as he had. He seized many opportunities after college to learn more of the geological history of the Connecticut Valley, and always enjoyed telling his friends about it.⁷⁴

Charles E. Garman, professor of philosophy, was probably the most stimulating teacher and greatest influence in the Amherst faculty of his time. He certainly was all of this to Henry Cutler. "I should not want to miss his talks for anything although it takes considerable time to do the work that is necessary."⁷⁵ Garman's lectures forced the students to do extensive reading on their own.

He tried to compel his students to think for themselves, to weigh evidence, to accept nothing on authority, and to follow the truth no matter where it led. He would permit them to build up one after one erroneous systems of belief—would, in fact, assist them in doing so and then, by questioning, often by fierce discussion, he would destroy the heresy which they had come to regard as infallible.⁷⁶

This was invigorating and inspiring to Henry, who loved to test the toughness of his thinking, and enjoyed the demands made upon his mind by difficult material. All discussion was based on primary sources, for Garman insisted that the students form their own opinion of philosophers by studying their works, not from reading about them. To Henry, a great deal of Garman's significance lay in his doctrine of service, so close to his own beliefs: "the stewardship which he preached was the Christian virtue of good works."⁷⁷

Trained from his early childhood on the Home Farm to value his time, Henry felt especially here at college that he must make every precious moment count. Any let-up in the pressure of his schedule he looked upon distrustfully. "Time seems to slip away without my improving it as much

as I ought.”⁷⁸ Here at Amherst he was in a position to read and study. It was an opportunity toward which he had worked for a long time, and it was imperative that he make the best use of it. This feeling of urgency, this continual inner questioning of whether his time was put to the best advantage, became a part of his personality during these college years.

There never seemed to be time to satisfy his curiosity and interest. His outside reading followed no set pattern; it was a sampling of many subjects. He found the Koran “a really curious book.” On returning it, he took out a volume on *How to Educate Yourself*, which “gives many useful hints, speaks of useful books to read and is quite instructive.” Shorthand intrigued him. He sent for a copy of Isaac Pitman’s *Manual of Phonography* and spent a few hours attempting to master the technique. He tried *Vanity Fair*, but its world being too disparate with his own, he found the book merely “too long.” Two weeks later he was perusing a medical book—the first indication of his interest in a subject which was to hold a lifelong fascination.⁷⁹ Off and on he turned to contemporary novels, Hugh Conway’s *Called Back*, and *Beyond the Gates* by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, which he found “very interesting,” or, again, Mrs. Alexander’s *The Wooing*.⁸⁰ As a sophomore he read French with his roommate, Manwarren. During most of that year he was dipping into the plays and poems of Shakespeare. Consistent with his long-established preference for books about great men, he was impressed most of all by J. C. H. Abbott’s biography of Napoleon. “I never was so interested in reading a life of anyone.”⁸¹

Henry’s extra-curricular activities were chosen for the training they offered. Thus in his freshman year he joined the Alexandrian, one of two literary societies founded in the early days of the college. At first the entire student body was divided between them, but just prior to Henry’s entrance, membership became optional. According to a historian of Amherst, “they regularly offered prizes in elocution and did much to stimulate literary ambition.” He adds, “no training could have been better for prospective teachers and preachers.”⁸² Henry planned to take up one of these professions, and he knew that he was extremely weak in just the preparation that membership in the Alexandrian could give. Meetings took place weekly on Wednesday evenings, and he attended as often as possible. Sometimes a month would go by before he felt that he should take the time from his studies. Then too, he did so poorly in his first speeches, and was criticized so severely, that he admitted he was almost “afraid to try to do anything

about it."⁸³ But he knew that he must return and continue to listen to criticism until he had improved. His interest in speaking was great, and no matter how difficult his own schedule, he would find the time to listen to the prize debates, of which there were a good number, even if it meant going as far away as the Agricultural College.

Henry continued to take part in the Alexandrian meetings throughout his college course, and with increasing regularity. He found that he could debate much more fluently and forcefully as time went on, and instead of dreading any opportunity to speak in class, he now almost enjoyed it. When a topic for debate was presented, he usually chose to defend the most difficult side. He took pleasure in discussions of the controversial issues of the day: "Prohibition is preferable to High License," or "The Nicaraguan Question"—for they forced him to inform himself on contemporary affairs. In his junior and senior years he was asked to judge some of the debates, and in this he delighted. By custom the judges had supper together before the event, and the informal gathering with his classmates, so rare in his college life, he looked forward to eagerly. By his senior year he had assumed some leadership in the society, and was chosen chairman for one of the meetings. From remarks in his diary it is clear that he never felt he was becoming a powerful or accomplished orator. But he did improve, and he learned the elements of making a forceful and effective speech. He never lost interest in studying rhetoric, and always took note of what made a talk good or bad, trying to model his own accordingly.

Henry's purpose in joining the Hitchcock Society of Inquiry at the beginning of his junior year was equally practical and deliberate. This group, composed of students interested in doing some sort of religious work, aimed to promote "an intimate fellowship between those who intended to become ministers," and "to secure a more complete preparation for this work." Meetings were held Friday evenings every other week, the exercises consisting "mainly of debates upon the vital religious questions of the day."⁸⁴ Henry took more of a part in the Hitchcock meetings than in those of the Alexandrian, and spoke as often as once a month. By the end of his first year of membership he was elected secretary, but was "not very much pleased with the office."⁸⁵ The work involved cut too deeply into the little free time remaining to him, and required that he make out and post the programs for the bi-monthly meetings. As a senior he took less interest in the meetings of the society. In the fall of that same year he conducted a

Sunday evening service for his class, taking as his subject: "Looking unto Jesus," with text from Hebrews 12: 1-3 and I Peter 2: 23-25. It was probably, as the verses from Hebrews indicate, "an exhortation to constant faith, patience, and godliness." His attempt to start a coöperative class in Bible study with his classmates in North and South College, was unsuccessful.⁸⁶

In the winter of his junior year (February 20-23, 1885), Henry Cutler attended the College YMCA convention at Harvard University. He had wanted very much to go and again the only barrier was lack of money. A gift of \$5.00 from his grandfather eliminated this difficulty and he left by train at 6.50 A.M. on the twentieth. This trip was an event in his life, for besides being the longest he had ever undertaken, it was the first time he had been further east than Barre. Henry was deeply moved by the meetings, which were stirringly addressed by A. P. Peabody, Russell Sturges, Phillips Brooks, A. J. Gordon, H. H. Moore, and a Mr. Gifford of London. But equally interesting to him were the places he visited and the sights he saw. The morning of his arrival, he looked over the college buildings, and on the following day he went to the Botanical Gardens and Agassiz Museum. On Sunday, after church, he walked out from Cambridge to the Belmont hills and "got a splendid view of the surrounding country." Monday, the final day of his trip, he rode to Charlestown, where he climbed the Bunker Hill monument, and thence to Boston where "he took dinner and looked over the principal streets." He visited the Old South Church and later in the afternoon listened to a lecture in Tremont Temple. He wrote that he had had a splendid trip, but tempered his enthusiasm with the hope that he had gotten "some good from it."⁸⁷ This remark is typical of Henry Cutler. Having always been forced to husband his time, when he took four days away from the immediate job of "making good" at Amherst, he weighed each moment in the light of its value to his education. One should not, however, be misled into thinking that Henry questioned himself endlessly on every move he made at college. This would give a completely unbalanced picture of him. His singleness of purpose was not so strong as to be unhealthy. It was only the major expenditures of time whose value he questioned.

Within the limits of the rigorous schedule that he had set up for himself, Henry still managed to have a good time. In January of his freshman year, for the first time in his life he saw a play at the College Hall, and was very much pleased with it; but he immediately added in his diary that he would

"probably not attend another very soon." Though he does not mention going to the theater again while at Amherst, he seized every opportunity to hear the concerts that were held at the college or in the town. He especially enjoyed the Yale Glee Club, and "The Mikado." Having obtained permission to use the Alexandrian piano, he mailed an inquiry to a Chicago publishing house about a correspondence course. He purchased a violin in the fall of his senior year, and practiced steadily enough so that he felt he was "getting to understand it a little better," and even considered taking lessons. In the spring he and his roommate Guild took some dancing lessons. Henry had great difficulty learning the steps.⁸⁸ Not until much later in life did he play whist, checkers, or chess, for as a young man he looked upon such pastimes as a terrible waste of time. He received the most relaxation from walks into the country surrounding Amherst. The usual destination was one of the high points to the east, north, or south; Mount Warren, up the hill toward Pelham, or the Holyoke hills.

Henry never had time for organized sports, for he was generally at work when the teams practiced. His only athletic activity was in the four weekly gym classes. In his junior year he was a member of the '86 gym team which, however, took in five-eighths of the class. In spite of this, he maintained a keen interest in all the athletic events that took place at the college. When he did have time off in the afternoons, he sometimes went to the athletic fields or to the gymnasium to watch the various sports. Tennis and boxing he saw then for the first time. It was not until the spring of his freshman year that he watched his first inter-collegiate baseball game, Yale versus Amherst. After this he frequently mentions in his diary the outcome of the Amherst team in its games with other colleges. At the end of his senior year he was able to play himself, and was surprised to find it such "splendid exercise." A few days later he wrote, "have been playing ball today *as usual* now & I enjoy it very much."⁸⁹ At about the same time he took up tennis, which he loved from the very outset, playing twice his first day and as often as he was able thereafter.⁹⁰

Since the 1880's were a period of great popularity and profit for the public orator, there was a regular series of these lectures arranged for the college. Henry received free tickets in return for posting the announcement placards. He considered Matthew Arnold a poor speaker and though he admired his use of English, he complained of his "peculiar way of turning his head to consult his notes."⁹¹ John B. Gough's temperance lecture, on

the other hand, he found excellent, and he made a point of going to all Gough's meetings the following day. George W. Cable, speaker on Southern life, appealed to him because of his illustrative and "peculiar" songs. In the spring of his sophomore year he heard the ex-governor of Massachusetts, D. H. Chamberlain, deliver a paper before the Phi Beta Kappa society in answer to Charles F. Adams, Jr.'s remarks of the preceding June before the Harvard chapter. Adams had charged that training in the classics—then the basis of all liberal education—utterly failed to prepare a man for his life work after college. This attack brought a quick response from many colleges, and in particular from Amherst, where Professor W. S. Tyler had already aimed a reply at Adams in March.

In the fall of his junior year, just after the national elections, he heard Henry Ward Beecher for the first time. Beecher had come out strongly for Cleveland, and the Amherst papers, deploring the unpopularity of his lecture, suggested that it might unfortunately be due to this. Henry liked him very much. Dr. Edward Hitchcock gave him a ticket to hear Thomas Nast, the cartoonist who was especially famous for his campaign to expose and bring to trial Boss Tweed and his ring. Judge Tomgee's lecture, "Give us a Rest," depicting the ceaseless activity of the American people, Henry found amusing. These men and others who spoke in College Hall brought to him much of the world outside Amherst, its people and its ideas. They fascinated and stirred his imagination.⁹²

If he found it difficult to take part in most extra-curricular activities, he always had time for the many religious gatherings. Chapel each morning was compulsory, and so were the Sunday morning services. Besides, Henry usually attended the Thursday evening meeting, and on Sunday it was not unusual for him to be present for afternoon prayers and two evening services. He seemed to pay little attention to denominational differences, and regularly visited the Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal, and Congregational churches. He attended an Episcopal confirmation which he found very impressive. "I cannot help liking the Episc. church."⁹³ Occasionally he appeared at the Sunday evening prayer meetings of his class.

He listened with great care to the sermons, taking pains to follow them closely and trying to learn from each one. He made efforts to write out from memory as much of the sermons as possible, a practice he was to continue the rest of his life, even urging his students to do likewise as a memory exercise. Some of the men made a deep impression upon him and were

influential in directing and maturing his life. The most important were President Seelye, the Reverend Lyman Abbott, and Dwight L. Moody. As college pastor Seelye preached many Sundays. "Undergraduates who took their religion seriously and attended prayer meetings with zeal were often tremendously affected by Seelye's unaffected piety."⁹⁴ This was certainly true of Henry Cutler. Often he would remark that President Seelye "preached a very fine sermon I thought," or "I am more impressed than ever with his greatness and power notwithstanding that some think he is lacking in practical sense."⁹⁵ Evidently Mr. Blodgett's sermons in Greenwich had lasted well beyond the limits of human endurance, for Henry sighed that "it seems good to hear a sermon that finishes at twelve o'clock."⁹⁶ In many ways, Seelye's theology was reactionary, as had been that of the Reverend Blodgett. But his fundamentalism did not obscure the timeless importance of his emphasis on the necessity to every day living of a dependence on the teachings of Jesus Christ.⁹⁷

In Lyman Abbott, Henry found the finest preacher he had ever heard. He noted how carefully chosen and how telling were his illustrations. That Abbott spoke entirely without notes never failed to impress him. The last time he heard Abbot preach during his college course he was particularly affected. "I think I have been blessed today for I feel tonight as if I need to live differently. Everything seems so worldly that it is hard to draw the dividing line between what I ought to do & what I ought not."⁹⁸

Henry Cutler first heard D. L. Moody on Saturday, September 27, 1884, when he attended one of his meetings. The following day he heard him address three capacity audiences, in the morning, afternoon and evening, and described it as "a most beautiful day and a wonderful day for me."⁹⁹ Though he was unable immediately to judge the effect of Moody's preaching, he knew it to be "certainly very great."

What kind of a man was Henry Cutler during these years? He had the country-bred boy's sensitivity to the beauties and changes in the earth, the trees and flowers and plants, the animals, and the seasons of the year. At the start of each day in his diary he would describe the weather and often the temperature. Nature's grandeur touched him deeply. "All nature is beautiful and it is nearly impossible to take in its beauty and not be almost inspired . . . it seems as if nothing could equal it."¹⁰⁰ He was enheartened when, in the late winter, he first spied evidences of spring, and there would follow almost each day some note on the appearance of the trees, the color

of the hills, the different types of birds, their songs. Coupled with observations of the world about him, were the farmer's more practical interests. The arrival of brown thrashers was a sign that it was time to begin planting. Upon seeing a man putting in potatoes on the first of May, he remarked that "it would be pretty cold for them and that there would be danger of their rotting."¹⁰¹

He was by temperament gregarious. In spite of having been forced to isolate himself so rigorously from the social contacts of college life, he never minimized their importance, and his later judgment was that they "taught me many things, almost more than Amherst College."¹⁰² Henry was his own severest critic. He questioned his decisions, what he was doing, the way he did it, and he sought by this self-examination to find the means of self-improvement. Even when he had decided upon a course of action he would test his judgment again and again. The questioning lent no uncertainty to his actions, however, because it was aimed at continuous betterment. The changes he made were guided by actual experiences. Most often he would question what use he had made of the day. Had he wasted it? What had he actually accomplished? Closely connected with this problem of time was the determination that "I must make the most of my opportunities."¹⁰³ He looked back only to learn and to prepare for the opportunities that lay ahead. He never dwelt on "what he might have done if . . ." The past held no morbid interest for him. His thoughts were always on the future.

Henry F. Cutler graduated from Amherst on June 30, 1886, *cum laude*. The commencement exercises demonstrated how closely bound up with religion the college still was, for four of the six honorary degrees were awarded to ministers. The addresses of eight students of the senior class, which comprised the major portion of the program, however, gave indication of a coming reorientation. Only two papers dealt with religion. Of the others, one was on "The Labor Problem," another on "The Scholar in Business." In the realm of politics there were two papers: one, speaking in the highest praise of "The Statesmanship of Gladstone," the other, lauding J. Q. Adams, "The Representative for the Hour."¹⁰⁴

The diploma that Henry received certified that he had completed a course of study which the faculty considered the best possible preparation for a Christian life. To Henry himself it meant that he had taken one more step toward the life of greater usefulness and service to which he aspired.

A NEW LIFE

The End of Learning is to know God

THE years at Amherst had only whetted Henry's appetite for knowledge. Though his plans when he graduated were still indefinite, he knew that he wanted to continue his education. His whole experience at Amherst, the very atmosphere of the college, his own predilection for a life that would best serve Christ, his association with his fellow students in the Hitchcock Society, the influence of the visiting preachers such as Lyman Abbott and Dwight L. Moody, all these had caused him seriously to consider the ministry. To face confidently three or four years more training, however, he must first earn some money, for the last four years had taught him that he could not give his best to his studies while supporting himself. Conscious that he had not been able to make the most of the opportunities at college, he longed to be able to do the reading that would give him the broad intellectual experience he so desired. What he needed was a small reserve of money to make possible at least one year free from financial burdens. Henry set about finding a way to earn it.

His short trial as a businessman, running the bookstore with Guild, had been on the whole disagreeable. His experience selling *Worth and Wealth* had been so distasteful that when Professor Mather gave him a chance to canvass for such an assured financial success as General Grant's *Personal Memoirs*, he turned it down without hesitation.¹ On the other hand, teaching at Guilford had been pleasant and profitable, and had allowed him at least some freedom to pursue his reading. Such a year now would supply the money he needed, and give him time to think over just how and in what field he should continue his studies.

Upon returning from Christmas vacation in his senior year, he and Guild sent out postal cards requesting information from a number of teachers' agencies. Within two days they had received what Henry termed "an array

of answers," with so many plans of action that they were overwhelmed.² The pressure of his studies was such that Henry delayed answering. Later, while talking with President Seelye about a scholarship for the last half year, he drew from him a pessimistic answer about teachers' agencies. Seelye professed complete lack of confidence in them, adding, however, that he occasionally had requests to suggest the name of a student for a teaching position, and that he would "use his influence for" Henry.³ This did not lead Henry to a burst of optimism, and in March, when he gave Seelye the list of subjects that he wanted to teach, he wrote that the President "said he would put me on file & I guess I shall be likely to stay there."⁴ The President's letter of recommendation, however, was unequivocal in its praise: "Mr. Henry F. Cutler is . . . highly esteemed for his talents and character, . . . is admirably qualified to teach, and . . . I cordially commend [him] to any school."⁵

The teachers' agencies were momentarily shelved in hopes that there would be an opening in one of the neighboring schools. By May, although there had been a number of vacancies, Henry had received no offers, and a letter from an agency in Chicago pleased him so much that he signed up with it, and set his mind on getting a job in the West. This was not as sudden a decision as it seems, for he had always wanted to go West, and already in January was writing of "his hopes or desires or inclination . . . growing in favor of going out there this year."⁶

June found him still jobless and discouraged. There was an opening in the Barre High School, but it was for the position of principal and Henry was turned down. He spoke to Professor William L. Montague about returning to Amherst for the summer language school, thinking that he might spend two months at least in constructive learning. Just five days before graduation he received word of twelve vacancies in the West. Although he wrote seven letters of application, he was not sanguine about his chances.⁷ At about the same time he collected three more open letters of recommendation. They spoke in strong terms of his qualifications for teaching and of his high moral character. E. P. Crowell, professor of Latin, testified

to his thorough scholarship in the Latin of the College course & his constant progress in classical studies.

In my judgment he is well qualified, in all respects, for the work instructing

Latin preparatory to college & I can heartily commend him to any who may desire his services.⁸

W. S. Tyler, professor of Greek, wrote that in addition to Henry's "good standing as a scholar" he was "a young man of excellent character, great industry & fidelity."⁹ Dr. Edward Hitchcock, professor of hygiene and physical education, who had seen something of him each year during his gym classes, confined his remarks to Henry's character.

I well know Mr. H. F. Cutler & am glad to say that I think he will make a good teacher, because he is an honest, capable faithful and true man.

He will do well what ever he may undertake.¹⁰

On graduation day Henry wrote laconically, "Met a gentleman who wants me to go to Jaffna, Ceylon, to teach."¹¹ This was not the first offer of the kind he had received, for Professor Mather had spoken to him of a position teaching French in the Sandwich Islands.¹² It was between these two opportunities that Henry was vacillating when he left Amherst for Greenwich. He was more seriously interested in the opening in Ceylon, but the stipulation that he sign up for four years kept him from accepting at once. The thought of journeying to India caught his imagination but he did not want to banish himself for so long. Two days later he made a counter-proposition to go on the same financial terms originally offered, but for two years instead of four.

Henry was in a quandary as to how to spend his summer. He could return to Amherst for the School of Languages; Professor Mather had offered him the janitorship of the Art Museum. If he could be certain that a summer so spent would be of value he would be glad to try it. On the other hand he liked the idea of working on the farm. It was good training physically, and meant more freedom to look for a job. Besides, his father needed his help. He spent nearly all the fourth of July trying to think through an answer to his problem, but in the evening he wrote, "the question as to what is my duty to do this summer is still unsolved."¹³ On the sixth of July he arose "early & started on foot for Amherst at five o'clock."¹⁴ Arriving about eight-thirty, he attended two classes in the morning. They were a great disappointment, and his decision was made; he returned to Greenwich that evening to spend the summer on the farm.

The months passed quickly. Almost every day in July was spent in haying: cutting, cocking, putting up on the wagon and hauling to the barn.

When he wasn't haying, Henry was hoeing the potatoes, cultivating the vegetable garden, or setting out turnip plants or cabbages. Early in August the oats were cradled, threshed and winnowed. August was the month of early harvest and odd jobs. There were wood and brush to be cut, stone walls to be laid, berries to be picked. By the end of the month it was time for the late ploughing, and in September the corn was cut and bound, the potatoes harvested, cider apples picked, and rye planted. Often in the evening after supper Henry practiced playing his violin. Sometimes neighbors would join him, and they would sing and play the organ or the new cornet Henry had bought on one of his trips to Springfield. He especially enjoyed it when the family gathered in the evening to sing. When the others had gone to bed he would continue his reading.

Evenings were often spent in heated debates with his parents and grandparents on subjects of timely or timeless interest. After one of these he wrote, "I had quite a long talk with grandma about her ideas of perfectionism but I did not exactly fall in with her ideas."¹⁵ Another time he mentioned "a general talk on historical subjects" with his sister Mary and his father.¹⁶ Still another time it was a religious discussion about the origin of evil and the Second Coming. Evidently Henry was too radical in his opinions, for he mentioned that "grandma & I do not agree very closely."¹⁷ Even the conservative theology of Amherst was too advanced, and conflicted sharply with his grandmother's rigid Calvinism. The farm may not have interested Henry as a life's work but it was never a dull place. Hard physical labor during the day did not discourage the family from leading a full, mentally active life after the sun had gone down.

Henry was not disturbed when the summer began and he still had no job. The Chicago teachers' agency was notifying him two or three times each week of openings, and he was hearing regularly of vacancies in nearby schools. The proposition that he had made about going to Ceylon had not been turned down, and he thought there was a good chance that it would be accepted. By the end of July, however, he was beginning to feel somewhat anxious, and his thoughts often wandered from his task to speculate on what the coming year held for him. Must he give up the idea of teaching? His hopes were momentarily raised by an encouraging answer to his application for a position in the Waterbury, Vermont, high school, but they were soon dashed. He could not believe that the summer was almost over and that he had no place to go. By the end of August he admitted he was

beginning to feel "a little desperate for it is very late for openings in the autumn."¹⁸ One plan that he hit upon in his extreme anxiety was to go West, whether he had a job or not, just as soon as he felt he could leave his father to handle the farm alone. This was during the first week in September, when his spirits had reached a new low. He was trying to steel himself to the realization that he had failed. Yet he simply could not believe that there was no opening for him.

On the afternoon of the eleventh of September, after completing his work in the fields, he returned to the barn to finish his evening chores. Failure to get a teaching position had weighed especially heavily upon him all that day. He had been working alone most of the time and nothing disturbed his thoughts. What should he have done? What had he done wrong? Ought he to have accepted the job in Ceylon for a term of four years? Should he have continued on at the Amherst summer school? These and a legion more doubts and questions assailed him. There seemed to be no answer and no place for him to turn. Kneeling down in the barn, he prayed for strength and help. Suddenly the whistle of the postman interrupted him. Henry rose to answer it himself. In the mail was a letter from Miss Lizzie H. Robinson, who had been a classmate of Henry's sister at the Northfield Seminary, and was a friend of the family and a teacher at the Mount Hermon School.¹⁹

We were speaking of teaching and teachers at Mt. Hermon a few weeks ago; but I did not glean from that conversation that you desired to try for a situation here. So what I shall say may be presumptuous; if so please excuse me.

We are greatly in need of more teachers here, so I ventured to mention your name to Mr. Sawyer and answer such questions as he asked me to the best of my ability. You would have to teach lower branches, perhaps almost wholly now but with a good prospect of working up. The work is hard, the pay, not very much, but it is interesting work and contains innumerable chances of helping these boys in their education and in their lives.

I have three hundred per yr. you would probably have more. Mr. Sawyer desired me to write for your consideration on this subject.

If you should desire to take a position, it would be well for you to come and see Mr. Sawyer. But you could write, if that does not seem best. I shall be very glad to do anything I can for you.²⁰

Henry had hoped to have more advanced classes than the letter indicated, but here was a chance to teach and he could no longer afford to wait for the ideal position. His parents did not reach home until evening and he had a

long time alone to weigh the reasons for and against accepting. The more he pondered it, the more he became convinced that God was behind this eleventh-hour offer of a job. The next day, Sunday, he wrote:

I have about decided to go to Mt. Hermon to see Mr. Sawyer tomorrow about the position of teaching there. I feel as if I ought to go when I remember the curious coincidence that I experienced yesterday in receiving the letter after the petition of the P. M.²¹

The "coincidence" of the prayer and the letter was never magnified as anything more than that, although in later years he might easily have been tempted to call it divine intervention in view of its vital significance to his whole life.

The Cutler family had known of the Northfield schools from the time they were founded. Miss Jessie Smith had been one of the first teachers at the Northfield Seminary, having gone there in 1879, the year it was founded. It was probably through her that the Cutlers first heard of the school. In 1880 they knew enough about it to send their elder daughter, Mary, there and through her they became a part of the early days of both Mount Hermon and the Northfield Seminary. In June of 1884 Henry had traveled up from Amherst to Mary's graduation at Northfield. D. L. Moody probably mentioned his schools at the meetings Henry attended in the fall of 1884. And in the middle of August of the summer just ending he had attended the Northfield conferences for two days. On the train from Athol to Northfield he had ridden with Miss Robinson and later on at the conference he had talked with her about "teaching and teachers at Mt. Hermon." At the time his mind was on other prospects and this conversation assumed no importance.

Monday morning, two days after hearing from Miss Robinson, Henry Cutler went to Mount Hermon "and made arrangements to teach there for the coming year."²² He was to start on Thursday morning and this left him with only a day to prepare himself. Tuesday he went to Springfield and outfitted himself with new clothes. The cost seemed considerable, but for \$31.40 he bought neckties, handkerchiefs, collars and cuffs, shoes, stockings, an umbrella, and two suits. The drain on his resources must have weighed heavily on him, for he only spent fifteen cents on dinner and five cents on lunch. In the afternoon he attended the bicycle races where there was no charge for admission.

Wednesday he arose a little after five, packed his trunk, and took the train for Mount Hermon, arriving at about half past three. He was well pleased with his quarters on the top floor of old Crossley. He was informed that he was to teach Latin and arithmetic and possibly other subjects as well. The last four days had been full ones for Henry, both physically and emotionally. He was starting in a new life, one he had been "fitting for" for ten years, but he realized that he was leaving his home, not to return except for short visits. He did not spend much time in retrospection and his thoughts were mostly filled with his new work. The evening before his first classes he wrote in his diary: ". . . I feel very sure that I have been called to this place & I intend to do my best."²³

Mount Hermon had been in existence for five years when Henry Cutler moved into Crossley Hall. In that short span the school had rapidly grown from the one boy who arrived at the Old Purple Farm on May 4, 1881, to the more than one hundred and fifty who registered in September, 1886. Mr. Hiram Camp, president of the New Haven Company, made possible, with a gift of \$25,000, the purchase of the farm lands: "two hundred and eighty-five acres . . . , two farm-houses, two large barns and other buildings."²⁴ The farms were about two miles north of the center of Gill, where the township runs along the western bank of the Connecticut River. From the farm buildings, three hundred feet above the river, one can see a long stretch of the valley. Although initial financial support came from Mr. Camp, the idea of the school was Dwight Lyman Moody's.

From the time he started his work in a Chicago Sunday school in the 1850's, Moody realized the need for educated men and women in Christian work. The very limitations and difficulties that his own lack of education placed upon him, were to him the most forceful arguments in favor of more education. He keenly felt his own deficiencies and wanted to make possible for others the training he had not received. Moody believed that a good education fitted a man to be of greater service to Christ. He had hoped to start a school in Chicago in 1871, but the great fire and his trips to England forced him to delay his plans. The girls' school or Seminary was started in 1879 in Northfield, where Moody, after the Chicago fire, had returned to set up his home. It was natural that he should look for a place nearby to build a boys' school. The farms in Gill were selected "with reference to health, to remoteness from crowded neighborhoods, and to freedom from the adverse influences often found in large villages."²⁵

W. R. Moody, his son and biographer, wrote that D. L.

hoped that all his students would become evangelists—each in his or her own sphere. Not that he would seek to have every one enter public evangelistic service like himself, but, whether in professional or business life or in the humble duties of home life, he believed the great objective of life itself was to make known the abounding grace and love of God to mankind.²⁶

The schools' mission, in Moody's own words, was "to help young people of very limited means to get an education . . . to help them into lives that will count most for the cause of Christ." By this he meant being able "to turn the tide of events toward righteousness."²⁷ Even though Moody preached to hundreds of thousands on his tours, he knew well that the most effective job of evangelization was done, not by one man talking to large audiences, but by thousands of men and women who, in their own communities, would be evangelical Christian workers. Next to providing further education for those who could not afford it, Moody's purpose in founding the Northfield schools was to train young men and women "to carry the gospel, in any way that is approved by God, to the world that is without it." And to Moody gospel work was not only teaching and preaching, but "that work in every form, open to all Christians, by which the gospel may be exemplified, and its causes directly promoted."²⁸

Moody planned to implement his ideas by limiting the school to poor boys, the poorer the better, but applicants had to show that they had a purpose in their lives: to be of service to God. Insisting on a low tuition, he was opposed to full charity. He believed that in general only those boys should receive aid who were doing already all they could to help themselves. The total cost of board, room, and tuition remained for the first thirty years at fifty dollars a term.

Miss Mary L. Hammond was Mount Hermon's first teacher, and on her shoulders rested the problems of the school's initial two years, as Mr. Moody left for England in September of 1881, not to return until May of 1883. These were vital years to Mount Hermon. It was more like a large family than a school, and the work of the farm often encroached on the work of the classroom. There were no definite courses of study and Mount Hermon ran throughout the entire year with only short vacations. When Miss Hammond left in June of 1883, the school was without a guiding hand until Mr. E. A. Hubbard, for many years a member of the state Board of Education,

became the first superintendent in the fall. Mount Hermon then had forty boys, and by January 1, 1884, there were seventy. During the year "a beginning was made in grading the school . . . , a good course in English studies was laid out."²⁹ Illness dogged Mr. Hubbard, forcing him to leave at the end of the year. In the fall the school was without a superintendent until the arrival of Mr. Henry E. Sawyer on September 20. During his first year he worked out many changes which were put into operation with the start of the fall term, 1885. The most important were a definite graded system for the entire school, four-year Classical and English courses, a two year Biblical course, and instruction in music.

In the fall of 1886, when Henry Cutler went to Mount Hermon, there were ten women and three men besides Mr. Sawyer on the faculty. The students were, for the most part, in their late teens and early twenties, the minimum age for entrance having been set in 1885 at sixteen. Moody had many requests for admission from young men who, like himself, had been forced to leave school at an early age and go to work—most often because they were needed to support their families. A few years later when their responsibilities were over and they had time to take stock of their position, they realized that their lack of education would be a stumbling block to their progress. By this time, they were too old to continue their training in a public school, and they lacked the money to attend a private school. There were no places for these men to go, as there were for younger boys. Most of the students, therefore, had come to Mount Hermon with a seriousness of purpose that was unknown at other schools.

The plant as Henry Cutler first came to know it was quite impressive. In addition to the original two large farmhouses, there were five brick cottages, used as dormitories; Recitation Hall, completed in 1885 and comprising chapel, library, museum, and schoolrooms; Crossley, which could house about two hundred students; and a dining-hall for the entire school (later named Camp Hall).³⁰

Less than twenty-four hours after Henry had arrived at Mount Hermon he had completed his first day of teaching. He remarked that he had "gotten along as well as could be expected," and that he was quite certain he was going to like his classes.³¹ It was immediately evident to him that his training in arithmetic was inadequate, and he set to work improving it. He did not spare himself, repeatedly studying until late at night. Although he was better prepared in Latin, he still was not satisfied, and worked overtime on

that, too. On Mondays there were no classes and this gave him more time to study. Within a week he had another arithmetic section added to his teaching schedule, and now all but one of his morning periods were taken. The next day he was assigned a spelling division. Mr. Sawyer had found a willing and able young instructor and he was giving him a full load. Henry's careful attention to arithmetic soon showed results. He welcomed the chance to teach it because it was giving him such good mental discipline: "just what I need."³²

All new teachers are faced from the start with such questions as: Is my teaching effective? Are my students understanding my definitions, my explanations? Am I gaining their confidence and interest? How can I best improve what I am doing? Am I talking too much? Moreover, all good instructors experience days when they feel that no matter what they teach nor how well they teach it, they have failed to reach their students. When this feeling of powerlessness is coupled with a beginner's lack of confidence, the new teacher's task appears impossibly discouraging. Most disconcerting of all is the uncertainty engendered by an inadequate grasp of the subject matter. A man who knows his material breathes a confidence which his class easily recognizes. Henry's diary gives ample evidence of his struggle throughout this year, to improve both his knowledge and his classroom methods. The chief motivation for his trip to Europe in 1887 was to improve his command of languages.

When he sensed progress in his teaching it was to him only an indication that he could do even better. A let-down was sure to follow and he would write: "I was rather discouraged this A.M. as I could not seem to make the boys understand my explanations."³³ Mr. Hubbard, the former superintendent, visited his class in arithmetic and gave him some helpful suggestions. Even though he was gaining confidence, weeks passed before Henry could confront each new day without dreading it. It was the challenge to improve that gave him inspiration.

He was not all satisfied with the results of one of the first tests he gave in Latin. Instead of finding fault with the class he concluded that the failure was his and spent the rest of the week's recitations on a review, trying to give them a better foundation "before going on to the third declension."³⁴ A month later he was again dissatisfied with an examination. He would not let the students make their own standards; they must come up to his, and if they failed the blame was his. Seeing no other way to overcome his deficien-

cies than by work, he drove himself relentlessly. His school duties, outside of his instruction, had at first been few and he spent long hours in class preparation. No matter how many duties were given to him later he still tried to find the same time to work on his teaching.³⁵

Henry was expected to take part in the Bible instruction on Sunday, as well as teaching the secular studies during the week. He was given an advanced class in Matthew for which, like his arithmetic, he was unprepared. He had always wanted to study the Bible, but here he had to strike out alone and with only the weakest training. The difficulties of self-instruction under these conditions convinced him, if he needed any further convincing, that he must somehow find a way to study at a theological school. A week after he was given his first Bible class he was asked to take another at the Northfield Seminary. His comment was, "if I take it I shall be obliged to study,"—this from a man who was already sitting up late improving his knowledge of arithmetic and carefully preparing his Latin lessons.

At Mount Hermon the problem of order was incomparably less than at the Guilford District School. Henry was forced to discipline boys only at rare intervals, and after the first few weeks practically not at all. At a teacher's meeting soon after his arrival he "stood up for the boys" and suffered the displeasure of one of the women teachers. He tried at all times to be the defense attorney for the boys before the faculty. One evening early in the fall term, Mr. Sawyer, hearing considerable noise from the direction of Crossley, rushed over to investigate. He found that a group of the older boys had seized both Cutler and Petersen, the German teacher, wrapped them in blankets, taken them outside, and were preparing to toss them. Mr. Sawyer, greatly disturbed, halted the proceedings, and reminded the students that the dignity of the teachers must be respected. Unexpectedly Cutler, who had managed to wriggle to a sitting position, intervened, grinning, "It's all right, Professor Sawyer, the boys are just working off some steam." At that they gave a whoop, lifted Henry to their shoulders and carried him about the campus, chanting "What's the matter with Prof. Cutler? He's all right."³⁶

Although Henry thoroughly hated the necessity of speaking harshly, and avoided it whenever possible, he never looked the other way to curry favor, nor was he afraid to discipline the students. By positive action, making them understand just what he expected from them, he was able to stop most trouble before it began. When Sawyer found Henry could handle the boys

he was given greater responsibility; another floor in the dormitory was turned over to his care. His first act was to visit his new boys and make friends with them, for personal knowledge was the basis of his control. As the terms progressed, he was called upon more and more by Sawyer to give advice on disciplinary problems. At the end of the year three boys were expelled for smoking, which led Cutler to express his displeasure so strongly that the following day he was called to see Mr. Moody. He was, however, unable to have the decision reversed.³⁷

A week before the Christmas holidays Sawyer asked Henry to remain during the vacation, to be in charge of the school while he himself was away. This was somewhat disappointing to Henry, who had plans of his own, but he laid them aside without hesitation and set about making the most of his stay. A number of the boys were to remain at the school, but his duties as far as they were concerned, were light; in fact, he was able to read a good deal; he practiced his violin, took walks, and went skating. Though Sawyer returned on the thirty-first, Henry's hopes for a day or two at home were quickly dashed: the principal was seriously ill and unable to take over any of his duties. To fill his place until his recovery he chose young Cutler. Within less than four months from the time he had arrived at Mount Hermon, a new and relatively untried teacher, Henry was thus given the responsibility of running the school in addition to all his teaching duties.

During vacation his new responsibilities had consisted mostly of routine chores. There were the rooms to be readied; the table lists to be made out, and countless other trivial duties which occupied his days and evenings. He was learning and doing at one and the same time, and when he had seen the new boys finally settled in their rooms he admitted he "felt rather muddled."³⁸ He had been given no time to formulate plans; his new responsibilities fell upon him at the last moment, and with virtually no help he was expected to carry them through. Outside of Peter Petersen there was no other man living at the school and Petersen, a German citizen, although a fair teacher of French and German, was of little or no assistance when it came to administrative problems. The weight of his work, in the beginning, allowed Henry no rest and practically no time to eat—one of the first days of the new term he had his second meal at ten in the evening. Fatigue overwhelmed him, but after a week, when he again found time to himself, he noted in his diary that the confusion was abating. Yet only that morning he had been obliged to take an extra class in United States

history and one in French. Life was still very full, and there was hardly time for adequate class preparation, let alone for any outside reading.

Henry's position was a peculiar and difficult one. He was a teacher, a new-comer, and at the same time he was acting head of the school. Besides this, the sick principal was still there and would take over as soon as he was sufficiently recovered.³⁹ Henry was actually an administrative assistant, without power to act as he saw fit on any major problems, having to run the school along the lines laid down by Sawyer. Naturally, on hundreds of minor subjects, the decisions were his. When Sawyer began to appear at school on the first of February, Henry admitted it was a relief just to see him, even though he was not free from his additional duties until the end of the month. The uncertainties of his position were perplexing and trying and he hoped that he could "live through them all." Although there was much that disturbed him, he could write, "It is a wonderful life that I am living here . . . it is good for me."⁴⁰ This remark, written at a time when he admitted himself confused, tired, and despairing of doing a good job, throws light on his character. Life to him was good in proportion to its challenge. Is the job demanding? If so, it is good. To Henry, living and learning were synonymous, and the more difficult the work the more he felt he learned from it.

Meanwhile, Henry had soon become fast friends with Peter Petersen, with whom he shared the duties of running Crossley Hall. Their common interest in languages had been an initial bond which was strengthened by the similarity of their problems in the dormitory. They were also the only regular full time men teachers on the staff and would naturally have been drawn together if for no other reason than their isolated position. Late in the fall Henry had begun reading German with Petersen. He had taken three semesters while at Amherst, and under Petersen's influence a plan was developing in his mind for a year of study in Europe. He knew that his German would have to be radically improved before he sailed, and here, living in the same dormitory with him, was a German, a teacher of modern languages, who was more than willing to help. Regular classes were held during the rest of the year, most of them in Cottage Number Four, in Mrs. M. L. Ford's rooms, attended by one or two other members of the faculty. Henry worked on his German as often and as hard as his other duties would allow. During Christmas vacation he learned to write German script, and on numerous evenings not regularly assigned to their class, he would drop

down to Petersen's room and read German under his guidance. Petersen often talked of his plans to return to Europe during the summer of 1887, and tried to persuade Henry to accompany him. At first Henry was not interested, for he had thought to stay on the job teaching for two or three years, but by spring he was engaged to be married and realized that if he was ever to go to Europe it must be this very year.⁴¹

Henry continued to practice the violin, but he still found it difficult to decide what instrument he really did want to learn. When he went home for the Thanksgiving vacation he stayed indoors all one day playing the cornet, organ, and violin. In the fall he joined for the first time in a few games of cricket, and continued practicing his tennis. He frequently took part in the proceedings of the Republican Club, the most active debating society at the school. One evening he spoke on Sherman and Ingalls, and on the succession to the presidency. On another occasion he took part in a debate with the Prohibition Club. During the school year he acted as the *Springfield Republican's* representative, and reported the laying of the cornerstone of the library at the Northfield Seminary on June 4, 1887. The writing took so long that he was unable to attend the evening ceremonies.⁴²

The experience gained in teaching, the month and a half service as acting superintendent, the running of a dormitory, the study of German, were all factors in making this year at Mount Hermon a vital one for Henry. Far more important than any of these, however, was his meeting with Harriet Ford.

Harriet Louise Ford was born January 10, 1863, at Walnut Hills, Cincinnati, Ohio. Her father was a minister and her mother had been a teacher. When she was nine years old her father died, and the following year her mother came East to secure the best medical care for one of Harriet's sisters, who was crippled. By 1875 they were settled in a house of their own in Wellesley Hills. Harriet had an excellent mind and found it easy to lead her class at school. Henry kept two of her report cards; she was marked 100% in each of five subjects for the entire year's work. She was lithe, active, loved to joke and tease good-naturedly, enjoyed the out-of-doors, and had a keen sense of justice. Slight and delicate, she was audacious and daring when she played. She was a voracious reader and

before she was fifteen she had read all the Waverley novels, all of Dickens, all of Shakespeare's plays, and much general literature from Chaucer down. Novels she liked and read constantly all her life. She liked history and travels. Facts, on the whole, interested her more than speculative or fictitious writing.⁴³

Harriet was a natural leader. No one who knew her could help feeling the strength of her character. Her "perfect self-control made her mistress of any situation, and gained her great respect from others. All her friends felt absolute reliance that confidences which her ready sympathy invited would not be betrayed."⁴⁴ She drew people to her quite naturally. One college friend writes: "She was always so cheerful, so sensible and earnest"; and another: "I have the feeling that it would have been impossible for her to do anything rude and common; she seemed always fine."⁴⁵

She went to Wellesley College and graduated in 1884, high in her class. Her major subject was Greek. Moody, hearing of her through one of her classmates, invited her to visit him at Mount Hermon. Quickly judging of her character, he offered her a position. When she arrived at the school in the fall of 1884, Mount Hermon was three years old. There were only sixty-eight students, ranging from nine to over eighteen years in age, the curriculum was not graded; there were no specialized courses of instruction; there was no classroom building, and recitations had to be held in the sitting rooms of the brick cottages. "The school library was contained in two book-cases in the hall of the second floor of Cottage One."⁴⁶ Harriet Ford, who had been at Mount Hermon for two years when Henry Cutler arrived, had by that time become probably the most influential teacher. Her beauty, her ability to obtain the best efforts from her scholars, her quiet firmness, dignity, and warmth of character, her cheerfulness at all times, the interest that she took in all the boys' activities, her constant encouragement to the homesick and the poorly prepared, her scholarship with which she was able to inspire her students, all these went toward making her the strongest force in the school.⁴⁷

Henry Cutler first met her when he was on his way to Mount Hermon for the opening of school in September of 1886.⁴⁸ On the eighth of October he played tennis with her and implies that he was well trounced, for although he "had a very pleasant time," he adds that he was "not a very skillful player."⁴⁹ During Petersen's German classes they had a chance to see something of each other, but this offered no real opportunity for courtship. Their very position, living and teaching in a boys' school, increased their difficulties a hundredfold. Certainly they could not make much progress while playing tennis! The only moments they had to themselves were on walks or drives to church services in Northfield, or else to Bernardston, South Vernon, or Brattleboro, to concerts. Their common interest in languages was an initial basis of friendship, and they not only read and studied

German together, but also Latin, Greek, and French. "They were so circumspect in the midst of sharp eyes around them, that even Miss Robinson was not aware of their engagement until Miss Ford told her toward the end of the school year."⁵⁰ Much of their courtship had to be carried on by correspondence, but even such a course was full of dangers. They finally struck upon an ingenious plan:

In those days each teacher carried his or her own hymn book to the dining hall for use at the evening devotions around the supper tables. The books would be laid down while the wraps were removed, and when picked up later, Miss Ford and Mr. Cutler would each accidentally (?) get the other book.

Tucked away in the leaves of the hymn books were their daily letters.⁵¹

They became secretly engaged on the twenty-eighth of February. Henry found it hard to believe that so much that was happy and wonderful could happen to him, and the change in his life seemed immediate. It was as if in the short space of a week he had gone from one world to another. "What wonderful changes a week can bring forth."⁵² The hymn book correspondence continued, but the visits to Number Four Cottage increased in frequency, and it is difficult to see how they were able to conceal their changed relationship so completely from the rest of the school.

During the spring vacation Henry traveled to Boston to be near Miss Ford. For the first time they could spend a good portion of their days together without care for other duties and responsibilities. Henry met Harriet's sister and brother-in-law, the Gamaliel Bradfords, and passed some delightful afternoons and evenings with them in their Cambridge home on Prescott Street. Together they walked about Boston sightseeing. They attended Sunday services at the Cathedral on Washington Street; the following day they went to the Museum of Fine Arts and later to the five o'clock services at Trinity Church; another day Harriet took Henry out to see Wellesley College. It was not until the middle of this week, well over a month after they had become engaged, that Henry wrote of Miss Ford as Hattie. It seemed impossible to him that he could ever have as good a time. Even so, he was glad to return to Greenwich for a few days before school started. Whenever the opportunity arose, he loved to go back to his home and parents. Their affection and sympathy and warmth of understanding, the sheer restfulness of every unguarded minute, meant more to him than anything else.⁵³

The spring term rushed to a close with Henry leading a busy, happy life. He continued his study of German and completed preparations for his

trip to Europe. He saw Harriet each day and often visited with her in the evenings. Many times they would talk until late, and Henry severely felt the lack of sleep. Early in May he told Petersen of his engagement, and wrote guiltily in his diary: "I fear that I am not very discreet in some things & that the secret will cease to be a secret if I am not careful."⁵⁴ But there was really nothing that could cloud the happiness of his days. Everything took on increased meaning by being shared with Harriet. Sometimes, like all young men deeply in love for the first time, he was at a loss to understand his own emotions. One day in June, after playing tennis, taking a walk, and going for a drive with Harriet, he wrote: "These are wonderful days for me," and then confusedly: "I wish I could feel different than I do. I do not know why I am not very happy & perhaps I am, I do not know."⁵⁵

The last few days of June were emotionally and physically full. Not only were they his last days with Harriet and at Mount Hermon, they were also the final days of a school term with all the endless details, teachers' meetings, and examination papers, and Henry had to pack his belongings for his trip. The day before graduation Sawyer gave him a written testimonial of his year's service: that he had "proved himself an efficient helper . . . he has shown tact and judgment in his intercourse with students, and I heartily commend him to any who may need the services of a christian gentleman and scholar in the capacity of teacher."⁵⁶ The following day during the graduation exercises, Moody announced Henry's departure from the school, thanking him in eloquent terms, and then asked him to stand. Henry "was much affected & could not speak." Lesser evidence of this appreciation had been given him earlier in the year when his salary was raised from forty to fifty dollars a month (about what he had earned working summers on his father's farm). Nor were students backward in expressing their appreciation, and he found their thanks most satisfying, "the boys at Mt. H. were very kind to me."⁵⁷

As soon as possible after graduation he and Petersen left for Greenwich. They missed the last train out of Springfield that evening and did not reach the Home Farm until the following morning. Harriet Ford arrived that afternoon, and in the evening Henry took her for a walk up into his mountains to show her the beauties of the valley in which he had spent his youth. The next day, the thirtieth of June, was their last together before Henry left for New York and Europe. It was a beautiful day. Uncles George and Henry and their wives came and met his fiancée, but best of all he and Harriet had a long visit together in the evening.⁵⁸

NEW LANDS AND NEW SCHOOLS

Europe and West Chester

1887-1890

IF Henry's first trip to Boston in 1885 had been full of new sights and experiences, his stay in New York on the first leg of his journey to Europe was doubly so. Though he continued to record the skeletal events of each day in his diary, he saw so much he wanted to remember that he bought a notebook to retain it all. With Petersen he arrived in New York at three-thirty on the first of July, and they were handsomely entertained at William F. Lee's home, where they spent the night.¹ Besides completing the small but time-consuming chores incidental to a long voyage—arranging for tickets, baggage, and drafts on foreign banks—Henry managed to see a great deal of New York. He was delighted and excited by his ride into the city on the “underground railway . . . through a long stone vault little thinking that directly over us was one of the richest and most splendid avenues in the city.”

A walk in Central Park soon after he arrived tremendously impressed him, particularly the “Menagerie,” where he was careful to note, there were eighteen elephants, as well as camels and monkeys. He visited the Zoölogical Gardens and in the evening drove all around the park by moonlight. Especially imprinted on his memory was the statue of General Bolivar “outlined so distinctly against the western sky.”² The next morning he visited Brooklyn Bridge and then the Battery, “an oasis in a parched ctty.” Henry was sensitive to the city's great contrasts and contradictions. Good farmer that he was, he was struck by the sight of “a little yard like a country garden with an old picket fence around it worth between 2 and 3 millions of dollars, lying idle with no income except a little grass crop.” Riding on the elevated railway, he was intrigued with the “tickets purchased and deposited before

entering the cars," and could not help wondering at "what the hands of man can accomplish with brains."

Just twenty-four hours after arriving, he set sail on the White Star liner *Arabic*. At the pier he was interested in the bustling activity and was touched by the affecting farewells he witnessed—"a husband and father's last sight of his wife and child." On his sail down the harbor he saw the consuming flames of a spectacular fire which in a few minutes destroyed what had taken months to erect, and he thought "how weak is man after all."³ Standing at the rail he drank in all the new sights, the ocean vessels, Coney Island, Sandy Hook and finally the last glimpse "of . . . [his] native land . . . at Fire Island where a signal light kept flashing."

The *Arabic*, a motor sailer of medium size, took eleven days to cross from New York to Liverpool. He and Peter traveled steerage and Henry noted grimly that the experiences of their "first day are too vivid to need recording. Not as bad as I expected, but the air [below decks] is wretched. We have lost several articles." The food was bad and the quarters worse, but toward the end of the voyage he admitted that, "Our steerage life is not without its blessings. . . . I think we need to be very thankful that things have been as pleasant as they have." It would have taken many more inconveniences to becloud this trip for him. Constantly active, he spent most of his time on deck and there it was beautiful. The first day out was a Sunday, and he and Peter organized a church service with Henry leading the singing. Peter was about to deliver a sermon when he was relieved by the arrival of a minister from cabin class. Later on Henry made the acquaintance of a Welshman with whom he had many interesting conversations, as well as learning the Welsh alphabet.

The North Atlantic, always changing in mood, absorbed his attention for many hours both day and night. There was so much that was new: the porpoises that playfully swam alongside, the ships with all sails set, the steamers, the rough, cold, high seas with powerful waves that smashed across the *Arabic's* bow as she lunged and plunged into them. In the evenings, the light of the full moon, striking the ocean at the distant horizon glittered across the water to the ship. Against the vast "extent & grandeur of the sea . . . we seem to be a little world of ourselves."

Several hours a day he spent memorizing poems that Harriet had enclosed in letters to be opened at intervals during the voyage. Two of these he copied

in his notebook. He was drawn to nautical poems like Amelia C. Welby's "Twilight at Sea." Later he learned a passage from Wordsworth's "The Excursion."

The days passed rapidly and one morning they were awakened early by "loud talking, 'Land in sight, two mountains to be seen.'" They were off the coast of Ireland. The land seemed particularly beautiful after the long stretches of ocean. It was a white, mountainous, jagged coast and "at short intervals there are Fortresses & Towers which make one think of the mediaeval ages with all its chivalry and daring." Henry was struck with the beauty of the blue sky and contrasting rich green hills.

England he found a fascinating new world. Liverpool was unlike the American cities he knew: the low buildings and houses, the cars running on the left, the many heroic statues, the dominating public buildings, the sharp contrast between rich and poor. By nightfall of the first day he and Peter had reached Stratford-on-Avon. The English countryside he had watched from his train window seemed breathtakingly fresh and verdant, every field like a garden, a rich "garden of the Lord." The newness of it all, added to what he conjured up in his imagination from his earlier reading of English novels and history, gave it a deeply religious meaning. He wrote of the "fields that speak the praise of God." Profoundly touched by all he saw, he described each day as "one of the pleasantest if not *the* pleasantest day of my life."

Their stay in England lasted only nine days and Henry made certain that there was not an idle minute; for all he knew this was to be his last trip to Europe. In Stratford-on-Avon he spent only one day, visiting Shakespeare's birthplace and his grave, the library and museum; methodically jotting down the names of the artists whose paintings he most enjoyed. In the Shakespeare gallery he listed "The Weird Sisters," "Death of Cardinal Beaufort," "Othello and Desdemona," "The Infant Shakespeare Attended by the Passions." Going to Warwick Castle later the same day—"a wonderful place"—he described it in the fullest detail. The following morning he was in Oxford, visiting the colleges and the Botanic Gardens. The monument to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, on the spot where they were burned, so moved him that he copied the entire inscription.

By his third day he had reached London and started his ambitious round of sight-seeing, beginning with Cleopatra's Needle and the Tower. The next day, Sunday, the seventeenth of July, he heard the Reverend Charles H. Spurgeon speak in his Tabernacle in the morning, had lunch with one of

the Studd brothers, was taken to a Bible reading, and late in the afternoon went to a service in St. Paul's. There he was so struck with the church's "grandly expressive" beauty, that he was unable for a moment to pray, but instead thanked God that "His temples teach me so much." At the British Museum and the National Gallery, he listed the names of thirty-two painters, the dates of their birth and death, and often one of their paintings that especially drew his attention. He went to the Albert Memorial, the Houses of Parliament, Kew Gardens; he walked in Hyde Park, saw the exhibits in the Royal Art Academy, and inspected the display of historical machinery at the South Kensington Museum, where he was most interested in Watt's Engine, in Puffing Billy, the oldest locomotive in existence, and in a printing press used by Benjamin Franklin.

If the first view of land from the porthole of the *Arabic* had been exciting, he could find no ready words to chronicle his feelings at the sight of France and the "Great Continent of Europe" as he saw it grow "from a dim outline into steep cliffs." Here at last was the country of the Gauls, Charlemagne, Montaigne, Voltaire, Napoleon. Henry spoke of the charm of the French countryside as he journeyed to Paris, but it was not as striking to him as England. The beauty of England had surprised him, perhaps because he had read less about it, but of France he knew more, and its spell was anticipated.

He was unprepared, however, for the difficulty he found in understanding French as spoken by Frenchmen. He had studied the language before entering Amherst and had taken four terms while he was there; he had taught it at Mount Hermon, and he and Miss Ford had practiced speaking it together. Although he had no exaggerated idea of his ability, his lack of fluency was a blow. Grimly, he set about the task of getting a better speaking knowledge. It was the key to all his plans for study and he could afford to waste no time. His first step was to stop writing or speaking English. The day after he arrived in Paris he began keeping his diary in French, continuing this practice until he left for Germany, and he tried to think in French. Unfortunately, Henry had no natural gift for languages, learning one only after the utmost effort. A month after reaching France he was still struggling: "I spoke French to several people today and I can understand a little better. I hope to win the victory little by little."⁴ In view of the fact that he was never a fluent speaker even in his own language, it is amazing that he was able eventually to acquire a good command of five languages.

Two days after he arrived in Paris he visited the Institut Rudy, whose ob-

ject was "the practical teaching of all living languages," to apply for a position teaching English in order to meet his living expenses. In this he did not succeed at once, but he did sign up for French lessons for himself. Within two days M. Rudy had given him an English class to teach, and soon added a second one.⁵ The cost of living in Paris was still too great a drain on Henry's meager resources, and through a Mr. McKay, whom he had met at the Paris YMCA, he received other employment, translating an index from English into French. These jobs were temporary; it was expedient for him to take them, for not only did they increase his knowledge of French, but they paid his way while in Paris. He had no definite plan for his stay in France, and after he had been in Paris a fortnight he wrote in his diary, "I do not know what is ahead of me but I am waiting. Perhaps it is better for me to go to this place perhaps that. It will decide itself. I am not afraid."⁶ Teaching was to be his livelihood; he carried a letter of recommendation from Sawyer when he applied at the Institut Rudy. What he wanted was a year-round position which would include his room and board, and such was probably not to be had in Paris. Hoping that M. Rudy could find him one elsewhere, he was willing to wait and live and work in Paris until an opportunity presented itself. Again, as in 1886, he showed little concern over his chances of securing work until the last few days before the schools opened. In fact, he had worried more at home than he ever did in Paris. Perhaps the fact that Rudy had offered him another job in September partly accounted for it; he had something to fall back on.

What is most interesting to anyone studying Henry Cutler's life is that he had such faith in his ability to earn a living in a foreign land. His accounts show that he had about \$200.00 when he landed in France. This would certainly not last through an entire year unless he could earn his board and lodging, and even then he would have to curtail expenditures and take very few trips. When Petersen left him in the middle of August he was completely on his own. The financial difficulty he had experienced in college had given him confidence that he could get along any place and under any conditions. He was nothing if not frugal. While in Paris he lived "for weeks at a time on 17 cents a day."⁷

Early in September, through friends at the YMCA, he was informed of an opening at the Institut de Glay, a Protestant church school in the department of Doubs on the eastern border of France near Belfort, almost on the Swiss frontier. Run by a minister, it aimed "to prepare pious young

people for theological studies and to develop evangelistic instructors.”⁸ Its religious atmosphere must have seemed to Henry much like that of Mount Hermon. Though he was tempted to stay on in Paris working at the Institut Rudy, Mr. Donaldson of the YMCA, with whom he had been studying Hebrew, advised him to accept the position, which he did on September 19. He was to report on the thirtieth.

Although much of his time in Paris was spent studying and teaching, Henry managed to visit the museums, monuments, art galleries, and gardens. The Gamaliel Bradfords had arrived soon after him and stayed for about ten days. Henry delighted in their company, and together they visited Versailles and the Louvre, and attended the theater. Before they left, the Bradfords presented him with the works of Racine and Molière. He liked to walk about the city alone and it was not long before he felt confident that he could not get lost. He loved the many gardens of Paris, especially the Luxembourg.

In his notebook he described the Panthéon: the picture of St. Denis and the paintings of St. Geneviève, the patron saint of Paris. Under the dome he read the names “of those who fell 27, 28 & 29 of July 1830” and in the crypt underneath the church he saw Victor Hugo’s casket awaiting the completion of his tomb. Of great interest to him was the Hôtel des Invalides, where he visited the Artillery Museum and Napoleon’s tomb. Gazing down at the sarcophagus absorbed in his thoughts, he was startled to feel a tap on his shoulder, and turning, faced a tall French policeman, who sternly bade him remove his hat. The incident delighted Henry; he felt as if one of the Emperor’s own guards had risen to reprove him.⁹ One day he went to the Père Lachaise cemetery, visiting the graves of Héloïse and Abélard, of Chopin, Molière, Balzac, Michelot, and Thiers. Later he walked up to the summit of the hill near the center, and looking out across the “great city of the dead” to the “great city of the living,” the impressionable young man was filled with solemn thoughts. “I am in the midst of mystery,” he sighed. “Ah! but which is the greater mystery life or death.” His thoughts turned, as often they did, to God: “If I am among the living I have God above me, if I am among the dead God changes not.” The afternoon of his last day in Paris he paid one final visit to the Louvre as his farewell to all the beauty of the capital before taking up the strict and plain life of the Institut.¹⁰

“I arrived here at Glay at nearly six o’clock, and I like where I am staying

a lot. It is a beautiful place, in the middle of the mountains."¹¹ He had reached Belfort in the morning and, while waiting for the train for Montbéliard, had spent several hours visiting the fortresses. It is hard to believe that he was allowed to walk freely about, or that he was even permitted to see the fortresses during this period of increased tension between France and Germany. Pleased with his first impression of Glay, he did not change his opinion as the fall wore on. He liked his room and was very happy. In fact, said he, "everything pleases me."

What was it that so satisfied him? His object in coming to Europe was to spend the year preparing himself either for theological school or for teaching. First of all, he wanted to learn to speak, write, and read French and German, and secondly to study the literature of these languages. By the end of the year he hoped to have decided which profession to follow. To accomplish all this he needed a position which would provide him with board and room, a job where he would be living and conversing with French people, but where his responsibilities would allow time to study. Glay met these conditions.

His classes all came in the morning—beginning at nine and ending at twelve—and he was free for the rest of the day. He taught English, Latin, and Greek with only a few pupils in each course: in his first Latin and Greek classes he had two students. Thus the time his school duties required of him was small. The director of Glay, a minister, was well educated, and Henry studied Hebrew with him; it was probably through his influence that Henry seriously considered theological training the following spring. Glay was a propitious choice for a man who had any inclination toward becoming a minister. Here he could be trained in the preparatory studies, and here he could talk daily with men who had also to decide whether or not to enter the ministry. His associates included men who were not only able, but eager, to help him with his study of French and German. At the end of his first month at the Institut he said, "I am very happy and I not only find all the time that I wish for my studies but also enough time for whatever else I want to do."¹² He had accepted a position in a school he had never seen, with people he did not know, in a part of the world to which he had never been, yet Glay more than fulfilled his most extravagant expectations. In fact it is hard to see what other place could have been more ideally suited to his needs.

Having isolated himself in a small school community, Henry set up for

himself the strictest program of study, which he began soon after his arrival. Here at Glay, N. G. Macler, the director of the Institut, gave him instruction in Hebrew, and his colleague, M. H. Süry, in exchange for English lessons, taught him German and Italian. Even Henry was forced to admit that he had "a lot to do."¹³ The amount of work did not discourage his appetite for languages, and when he discovered that one of the students spoke Dutch he found occasion to take a few lessons from him. The greater part of his time was devoted to German and Hebrew.

He studied every afternoon and evening, except Sundays, occasionally varying this routine in good weather by walking to nearby towns and climbing the surrounding hills. Glay was a fascinating area in which to roam for one alert to its history.

Often I have watched the peasants digging, in the wintertime when they cannot work their fields, digging in the ruins of an ancient Roman city now absolutely abandoned. . . . They find implements and utensils and images and statues . . . and pottery and trinkets. All these are sold to an archaeological society in Paris. . . . I have often been up on a hillside near the village . . . and from there looked out over two valleys, one coming up from the south and one coming down from the northeast. They told me that up from the south came the Romans in the century before Christ and that down from the northeast came the Germans in seventy-one. They point out the Roman graves over yonder . . . and over on another opposite hillside they point out two German graves. . . . In the soil of France they lie centuries apart Romans and Germans. . . .

In a field not far from our school . . . there was a tall flat rock with a hole in the center of it as large as a man's head. The legend . . . is that Caesar and Ariovistus met in that field and made terms of peace with each other—that they sealed their compact by clasping hands through the hole in the flat upright rock. They would not trust themselves in each other's presence nearer than that.¹⁴

A cold, persistently inclement winter set in early in November, and Henry had little opportunity for the refreshing change that his walks afforded. On a typical day he would teach during the morning, spending occasional free hours studying or taking lessons from M. Süry; he would then devote the entire afternoon to one subject, and the evening to another. He could concentrate for long periods of time, and passages such as the following are frequent in his diary: "After lunch I read [the newspaper] . . . for a few minutes and after that German 'till five o'clock and Hebrew since that time and now it is almost eleven o'clock."¹⁵

In spite of this concentrated effort, he was discouraged by his slow prog-

ress in both French and German, but his answer was to work harder and longer, believing that sooner or later a point would be reached when his improvement would become more and more rapid, and that eventually he must succeed.

I have studied almost all the time today but I have not accomplished much. It was all German, I must learn it since it is difficult for me. I want to end the Grammar and I will continue always even if it seems I am not making much headway. Perhaps after a time it will become clearer, at least I hope so.¹⁶

Henry did not confine himself to grammar alone. During the spring of the year 1888, while still at Glay, he studied French and German literature. His French reading covered a wide range: from *The Letters of Abélard and Héloïse* to the works of Alfred Vigny, Montaigne, Molière, Diderot, Corneille, Rousseau (whom he disliked), Pascal, and Racine.¹⁷ The study of literature naturally led him to read French history, and he started Guizot's lengthy volumes.

Even with a full schedule, Henry found time to practice occasionally on a borrowed violin, and sometimes he and M. Süry would play duets. He had discussions regularly with M. Macler and M. Süry, and kept well informed on what was going on in the United States as well as in Europe. He described the scene on the "day set aside for going in the army. The conscripts passed by the house this afternoon with their colors and music." He saw what it meant in human terms: "But with all this glitter of the army here, how much sadness there is in the families." It was strongly borne in upon him that his youth had been free from all this. "How happy I am and proud of my country when I see what one is obliged to do here." The alarms and excursions caused by Boulanger's antics and the machinations of his followers—Boulanger and Floquet fought a duel in July of 1888—disgusted him, causing him to write, "What a country." The fever that Europe suffered in the winter of 1887–1888, brought on by the jingoist nationalism of Boulanger, and irritated by the French desire to avenge the disgrace of 1870, reached such a pitch in February that Henry wrote, "It seems that it will be impossible to escape a war in Europe now and it will break out when spring has come."¹⁸ The *Springfield Daily Republican* of December 22, 1888, published an article by him on "Elections in Prussia," which showed a remarkable knowledge of Prussian election machinery. He followed the battle over the tariff at home, and was depressed by the frightful winter that was gripping the country. He received the *Weekly Republican* regu-

larly, and his sister Mary often sent him copies of the *Springfield Union* as well.

By early December the strain of his studies compelled him to admit that he needed a short holiday, and as soon as was possible after the beginning of Christmas vacation, he set out for Basle for a two day stay. There he visited the cathedral and the museum, where the paintings of Holbein attracted him most of all. During the remainder of the vacation he cut down sharply on his studies, taking many walks. At Christmastime he sang English carols, and instead of going straight to his room to work after meals, he visited with the other members of the Institut's staff. He even drank wine with them, but disliking it, soon gave it up.

This was a lonely year for Henry, thousands of miles away from home and country and from all that they meant to him. Not that he wasted any time being homesick—he was too busy for that—but his loneliness is apparent in his pleasure at meeting a woman who spoke English or an American who had spent a large part of his life on the continent. If this man was more European than American, Henry overlooked the fact in his joy at being able to talk with someone who knew the United States. It was a particularly lonely year because of his separation from Harriet Ford. Although they wrote to each other daily, they could not bridge the awful distance of land and ocean. It was in this atmosphere of aloneness, away from family, old friends and fiancée, that he must choose his career.

The ministry had always been appealing. Henry's own ancestor Robert Cutler, whom he so admired, had been a clergyman. It was a life of service, and to Henry the purpose of all education was to fit one to serve one's fellowmen. On the other hand, going to theological school meant postponing marriage for at least another two years, perhaps more, until he was able to secure a good position. He had been happy at Mount Hermon and was equally so at Glay. Perhaps if he had been less fortunate in his first teaching positions, and if he had had more confidence in himself when addressing an audience, his inclination would have been toward preaching. As it was, he could "truthfully and honestly say" that he was "ready to enter the one or the other without prejudice toward either."¹⁹

In November, 1887, shortly after arriving at Glay, Henry had written to the Hartford Theological Seminary for information about entrance requirements, and in January he received their catalogue. All during the winter and early spring he pondered the question of whether to become a minister, hop-

ing that events themselves would settle the issue. By the first of May, with his money beginning to run out, and war threatening in Europe, it looked as though he would be compelled to return to the United States to continue his studies. The necessity for making a decision was upon him. This is how he described it later to Miss Ford, in the only letter that remains from their extensive correspondence.

At the time that I wrote the first of May that I should study Theology, I thought that I should go back to America this summer to study, instead of studying in Germany. After all I decided very hastily then, & since affairs and circumstances have been such that I am still looking forward to carrying out my former plan of study in Germany. I will tell you how it happened that I made that partial decision then. It was one evening, a beautiful evening, after supper I went up on the mountain to see the sun set, & the question came to me. Can I serve God better after having studied Theology than without it & there seemed but one answer to the question.²⁰

The answer was affirmative and he wrote immediately to both the Andover and the Union Theological Seminaries for catalogues, preparatory to choosing a school. But to make a hasty decision such as this went contrary to his nature, and he was not satisfied. Through the rest of the spring and early summer he continued to turn it over in his mind. "I have almost decided to return to America for next year and I think that there is almost no doubt that that will happen . . . but it is necessary to move slowly even to accomplish great things."²¹

In May there were only two days of bad weather, the first and the last, and Henry was stimulated by the freshly washed greenness of the trees and the mountainsides. But he was unable to enjoy his walks; he spent his time thinking over what he should do during the summer and the coming year. He wrote to Harriet Ford that he

would still stand by that decision [to study Theology]; only it leaves the other question unanswered & I did not think of the other one then. The other question you know & I do not know why I did not want to listen to it then. It is "can I be a better servant of God as a *teacher* than as a *preacher*" & all the time my tendencies are toward the former.²²

The end of the academic year was at hand and still he wrote, "I do not know what to do it seems that next year is my mystery."²³ He had made a few tentative plans for a course of study. It didn't seem possible to go to a theologi-

cal school in Europe, studying in a foreign language, and earning his board and room besides. Perhaps his lifework should be teaching after all. He wrote to Harriet:

Even if I am to teach I should like to study theology or at least part of the course, but if that teaching is to be my work my study for the year to come should without doubt be in Germany or at least in Europe. As I have said the hands seem now to point to the latter course [teaching] & my plans are being laid for that end. If I study in Germany, I shall put my time on Latin & German & perhaps Greek though I think that will be more than I can profitably study, & if so I shall drop the latter. I pray God that He will direct me for I want to do just what will be in accordance with his will. So as I am not yet positive about next year my plans may still be suddenly changed later on.²⁴

Petersen was coming to visit for a few days at the very end of June and Henry hoped that Peter would have a solution to his problem. He arrived during one of Henry's classes on the morning of the twenty-ninth of June, and left the following day before breakfast. During that time they "talked almost every second." With Peter's help and encouragement Henry worked out a plan of study for the coming year, which adhered closely to the one about which he had already written Harriet. He would study theology in Geneva for one term, and then go to a German university for a full year if possible. By this plan he could prepare for both theological school and teaching, leaving the final decision still open. After Peter left he wrote, "I think about the new plan and I am quite happy with what I am going to do now."²⁵

This was no easy decision that he had made. It meant that he would not only have to put off being married, but that except for two short visits he would not see Harriet for another year or two. It was hard for him to delay again his return to the United States and a teaching position. Equally as much of a strain would be the uncertainty of his having enough money.

Henry plunged into preparing himself for the theological school in Geneva. One of the entrance examinations was in Hebrew, a subject he now attacked with renewed effort. Besides being examined on grammar, he had to prepare for translation 140 verses of the Old Testament. He enjoyed studying Hebrew, and in order to increase his vocabulary in Latin as well, he purchased a Hebrew-Latin dictionary instead of a Hebrew-English one. As a change, and to please his insatiable appetite for languages, he and M. Süry

started to learn Spanish. By the middle of August the students had left the Institut, and during the final month before his departure Henry was free to study without interruption.

In July of 1888 he had received a two-day leave from the Institute at Glay to attend the consecration of some young missionaries at Basle. The life of these men, going out as servants of God, appealed to Henry, and off and on he considered it for himself. Toward the end of January, 1889, he heard a Mr. Wiessler, a missionary, whose sermon made such a great impression upon him that he thought over his entire future and wrote that "it looks different to me."²⁶ From that time he seriously considered dedicating his life to foreign missions.

During the past year Henry had often mentioned how happy he was. Not only had he been able to carry out many of his plans, but he had been associated with a congenial group of men. Behind his joy at the prospect of seeing his beloved Harriet for a few days, lay the realization that he would be "a little homesick" for the Institut.²⁷ It was difficult to break all the relationships built up over the year, and to go out again among strangers and make new friends. As always he found comfort in his faith in God: "I shall not be alone. I am sure there is One who will guide me."²⁸ The students liked and respected him. On his birthday they presented him with a history of French literature, inscribed with "affectionate memory." M. Macler, the director, in a testimonial letter said that he was "happy to acknowledge the talents and the qualities of Mr. Cutler, who leaves the school to the regret of everyone here."²⁹ In the official report of the Institut made later in the fall, he amplified this:

If everything has gone so well this year in regard to studies and discipline, we must not forget that we owe it in a large part to the coöperation of two colleagues, Mr. Cutler and M. Süry, who have generously given their good spirit and their abilities to our service. Thanks to them, it has been possible to do what we would not have otherwise been able to do and to give to our program of studies a development that had not been possible until then.³⁰

This was a strong statement for a school that had been in existence for sixty-seven years.

Originally Henry had intended taking three days to go from Basle to Göttingen, stopping at the most interesting cities along the way. Characteristically, he wanted his trip to have educational value. He adhered to this arrangement the first day, leaving Basle at four-thirty in the morning and

stopping in Karlsruhe for an hour and in Heidelberg for the afternoon, where he visited the castle and inspected the ancient battlements. On the first evening, however, his plans gave way to his pressing desire to see Harriet, so he proceeded the following day to Göttingen with only short stops at Frankfort and Cassel. Harriet met him at the station and from then on his joy knew no bounds. "What a happy being I am. How often must I praise Him who leads me."³¹ During the next four days they spent as much time together as possible. They took walks in the mornings, in the afternoons, and in the evenings. They went to a concert, they visited a castle, they inspected the old fortifications; they sat and talked and the time flew by. On the fifth day, in company with Miss Ford's friends, the Misses Crouch, they traveled to Eisenach where they walked out to the Wartburg, climbing the precipitous hill, marveling at the view, and observing the many reminders of St. Elizabeth and of Luther. They parted from each other in Eisenach, Harriet returning to Göttingen and Henry heading south via Fulda, Hanau, and Frankfort, to Geneva.

This new separation would have been doubly miserable if he had not been immediately confronted, upon reaching Geneva, with a full schedule of work. Peter, who was already studying there, came over to see him as soon as he arrived. Henry found a room with a Swiss family living on the Cours de Rive, on the right bank of the Rhône, and continued his preparation for the entrance examination in Hebrew for the Theological School. This test he passed on the fourth of October in a short oral examination, by reading the 26-28 verses of the first Chapter of Genesis. Upon completion of this requirement, having been given credit for his work at Amherst, he was awarded a large diploma of admission, certifying that he had passed examinations in seventeen different branches of learning, including Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German (or English), French, French composition, French diction, History (ancient, medieval, modern), Geography, Arithmetic (also Algebra and Geometry), Physics, Chemistry, Introduction to Biology and Botany, Geology, Philosophy (Historical, Logic, Psychology), Ethnography of Religions, Geography of Palestine, History of the People of Israel, and the Old and New Testament. It would hardly seem necessary to go to school if one had a passing knowledge of such an array.

Four days after his oral examination he began attending classes. His course of study at the Theological School included the following subjects: History of Dogma, Practical Theology, Ecclesiastical History, Critical Study

of the New Testament, Homiletics and Catechism, a Critical Study of the Old Testament, Hebrew Archaeology, and New Testament Greek. There were twenty-seven hours of classes a week, with none held on Thursday.³² In addition to this full schedule, Henry took lessons in German, and exchanged English for Italian lessons with another student.

For the next six and a half months Henry drove himself at a faster pace than at any time during his life. It was as if he were trying to bury by the energy of his attack the thoughts of his separation from Harriet, and as if only by constant attention to his work could he justify this year in Geneva. Seldom, if ever, did he get to bed before eleven-thirty and usually he was up before daybreak. This schedule severely strained his health and made him an easy prey to sickness. His last three months were dogged with colds, and it was only the insistent demands of his responsibilities that kept him on his feet when he should have been in bed.

Soon after arrival he began looking for work. Since his best opportunity lay in teaching English, he advertised for pupils in the newspapers and also had cards printed with his name and qualifications: "Gives English lessons, grammar, literature, conversation, private or in groups." He arranged two classes a week at the YMCA; one student replied to his newspaper advertisement, and he taught English at least one hour a week to the members of the family where he was boarding. In November he was given an English class at the Theological School. Once he did some translating for a professor, but was only paid sixty cents for almost six hours' work. With all these jobs, and keeping his own expenditures down to a minimum (just over three dollars for the month of October), he was still unable to meet all his expenses and was forced to write his father to send him money from his savings.

In the middle of October he discussed his plans for the coming year with Peter, and it seemed to him that he ought to return to America the following summer. Since this meant finding a teaching position, he wrote in December of 1888 to the Bridge Teachers' Agency (probably in Boston) for help in securing a position. He did little more to implement these developing plans for another three months. Undoubtedly the pressure of work was responsible, for he had begun another term in Geneva before he thought seriously enough about the future to take further action. He had been sure that he would fail his courses during the first term, partly because of the language barrier, but mainly because his own teaching program left so little time for study, and he felt that he had only the most insecure grasp of the material

that had been covered during the term. Yet he passed his courses well, and so was encouraged to stay on.

The seven months in Geneva were not as happy as his preceding year at Glay. Lack of money weighed heavily upon him, preventing him from putting all his attention on his studies, which were singularly difficult. But what disturbed him most of all was the uncertainty of his future. He had hoped that study at the Theological School would help him decide whether to become a minister, or whether he should once and for all settle on teaching. Instead of clearing his mind, he further impaled himself on the horns of his dilemma. In October he wrote, "It is strange that I can not settle down into satisfaction, I have so much of uncertainty about everything that I can not be sure of what my direction should be in minor things."³³ And five days later in much the same vein:

Surrounded by so much natural beauty I should be happy but from time to time it seems to me that I have lost my ambition in more than one sense it seems that my studies are not amounting to much up to now and the uncertainty which is always before me dazzles me so to speak . . . the definite aim is still lacking. What to do?³⁴

Without a goal to strive for, he found studying even more arduous and discouraging than usual.

As always when faced with a knotty problem, he leaned heavily upon God's help and guidance. This cannot be stated too strongly. Throughout his diary he is continually mentioning God and His ever-guiding presence, remarks which appear with increasing frequency during the years 1887-1889. God was a loving reality, and Henry's faith never wavered.

On the whole, his life was a happy one. Ever grateful for his good fortune, he prayed that he might lead a life that would best show his thanks to God. As he had so simply stated it on the last day of 1888, "I hope that God will help me profitably use what I have learned this year." His faith was a bulwark to his rock-ribbed New England conscience and never allowed him to relax in what he had resolved to do. The day he left Geneva for Berlin he wrote, "I hope that all that I do both now and later shall be for God."³⁵

Gradually his plans crystallized, and by spring the fateful decision that had caused him so much anxiety was almost imperceptibly made. Partly by a real inclination, partly by financial pressure, he gave up the ministry for teaching. This time Henry was satisfied that he was doing the right thing after sufficient thought.

At the same time it became clear to him, that if he wanted to teach in the United States the following fall, he must rearrange his work for the rest of the academic year. He had originally planned, before leaving America, to study in both France and Germany, for he wanted to learn both languages by living and working among their people. Ideally he desired to be able to carry on the greater part of his own teaching in a foreign tongue without resorting to English. He had spent more than a year in France and was now living in Geneva, and in order to carry out his plans before returning to America, he must move to Germany without completing a full year's study at the Theological School.

Once his mind was made up he lost little time in executing his plans. Rapidly winding up his affairs, he packed his trunks, and on the seventeenth of April left for Berlin. Henry took a round-about and scenic route, making a seven-day tour of Switzerland and Germany, first by boat to Lausanne, then by train to Berne, where he spent a morning and then pushed on to Zurich where he stayed four hours, seeing, as always "a great deal."³⁶ He went by boat across Lake Constance and thence by train to Munich, which he reached at seven-thirty in the morning and recorded:

. . . from the moment of my arrival I was constantly on the move so this evening I am a little weary. I have seen today I know not how many people, how many churches and buildings here in Munich. It is a very big city and I still have a lot to see. I intended to leave tomorrow but I don't know.³⁷

After another day there he left for Dresden, staying for three days. There as in Munich he made the rounds of the museums and art galleries before leaving for Berlin.

Once there, and without stopping to look for a place to live, Henry made his way to the Royal Frederick-William University to secure information about registering. Initially he signed up for four courses; Catullus's *Elegies* with Callimachus's *Hymns*, Art Mythology of Greece and Rome, Archeological-Historical Exercises, and a seminar on Virgil's *Aeneid*.³⁸ For two weeks he also attended a Sanskrit class, but gave this up for lack of time. Characteristically he purchased a Sanskrit-Latin dictionary so that he might pursue the subject alone.³⁹ Before the end of the term he had also dropped the seminar in Virgil's *Aeneid*, although he continued to attend the lectures. The professor, a Dr. Vahlen, conducted his classes entirely in Latin, causing Henry to remark, "I like it very much. I am so fond of Latin now." After the

next week's class a similar response: ". . . from 10-12 with Prof. Vahlen, Latin—and it is very interesting. He speaks nothing but Latin—ah I wish I could speak Latin as he does. I will study and God will help me!"⁴⁰

This is but the barest outline of his studies while in Berlin. His schedule of work followed the pattern that he had pursued at Glay and Geneva. His interest in languages could not be satisfied simply by following a program laid down by a college or university. His intellectual curiosity carried him beyond the ordinary bounds of this schedule and, in addition, he concentrated alone upon the study of Greek, Hebrew, and German. But his goal in trying to master languages was more than a desire for quantity. Languages were keys to learning and understanding. The ultimate truths, the history of ideas, of peoples, art and literature—the education that made men the most useful servants of God—were opened up by the ability to read, write, and speak them. The study of grammar, the learning of vocabulary, were but the first steps. More important was the literature, the visible record of learning. For example, Henry wanted to know the Bible as nearly as possible in the original, and not as it was interpreted by its translators, and how could this be done without a knowledge of Hebrew and Greek? It was the same with French, German, Spanish, and Italian literature: he longed to reach the full beauty and meaning of the original works. Again it must be emphasized that this was not purposeless erudition: he was not driving himself further and further from the realities of the life of his time; it was all aimed at making him a more effective servant of the times in which he lived. For one thing his whole up-bringing, the life on a rugged Massachusetts farm, the continued obstacles he faced in getting his education, left no room for the impractical; the problems of the present were always too pressing.

These three months in Berlin were probably the happiest period of his sojourn in Europe. The doubts and uncertainties about his future which had plagued him were resolved; the money he had was enough to last for the short remainder of his stay, and there was no need to spend precious hours at a job. His understanding of German had improved to the point where the language medium was no longer a stumbling block; and, most important of all, he was joined for one month of this time by Harriet. These weeks in late May and early June were supremely happy for them both.

Together they visited the museums and art galleries, the parks and Zoo, traveled to Potsdam, Grünewald, and Charlottenburg. "This afternoon," Henry wrote exuberantly, "I went to H's at one and we were together until

10. At 5 we went walking Unter den Linden where we saw almost nothing. Life is especially wonderful to me these days."⁴¹ The day after Harriet's arrival they witnessed the entrance into Berlin of the King of Italy on a visit to the young Kaiser Wilhelm II. In the same procession they saw von Moltke, and Bismarck, with the latter receiving the loudest applause of all. They attended the opera often, and heard "Rheingold," "Die Walküre," "Siegfried," and "Die Götterdämmerung." Henry went alone to "Tannhäuser." The standards of acting at the Deutsches Theater were exceptionally high: they both felt the performance of "King Lear" to be one of the most wonderful experiences they had ever had. Before hearing Goethe's *Don Carlos* and *Faust* they read both plays out loud together. Henry, who had heard so often at Mount Hermon, from D. L. Moody and other visiting ministers, that acting was against God's ordinances, added to his enthusiastic comments: "And they say the theater is demoralizing."⁴²

Just after his arrival in Berlin, Henry had written again to the Bridge Teachers' Agency, and it was through them that Dr. George M. Philips, principal of the West Chester Normal School, in West Chester, Pennsylvania, heard of him. On the fifteenth of June, Henry received a letter from Dr. Philips offering him the position of teacher of languages "at a salary of \$800 and home (board, washing, heated & furnished room & light) for the school year."⁴³ He added that "it has been the policy of our Board of Trustees to raise salaries when they find that they have the right men, and I believe that they will continue to do so." In realizing that this was a small salary for a man who had spent two years in graduate study abroad, he anticipated one of Henry's objections confided to his diary: "It is only \$800 and that is very little."⁴⁴ Eight hundred dollars would make it difficult for him to save enough to be married by the end of the following year.⁴⁵ In accepting the position he wrote that he thought the salary inadequate, and hoped that they would see fit to increase it during the year. Dr. Philips tried to reassure him: "As to the salary, if you make the impression here and upon the Trustees, that I think you will, I do not believe it will be very long before it will go up."⁴⁶ It was infinitely easier for Henry to make up his mind about accepting this job because Harriet was with him. It provided an opportunity for them to talk over just what they planned to do in the future; "nothing very important resulted" beyond their deciding that he should accept the position.

The day of Harriet's departure, Henry, who had planned to say goodbye to her at the station, followed her to Hadersleben where they spent two days

with Peter's family, and finally to Hamburg where they had a day together before Harriet took the tender out to her ship. Henry's feeling of loneliness was almost overpowering, and he returned to Berlin with little appetite for the month of studies that remained to him. Soon his work was made doubly difficult by the onslaught of a severe cold which plagued him almost up to the time of his departure.

He sailed from Bremen on the thirty-first of July, 1889, and exactly one month later moved into his room at the West Chester Normal School. The boat trip, which lasted ten days, commenced exceedingly rough, and, Henry, who had been a good sailor, was uncomfortable for a day. He read Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* and J. H. Voss's idyll, *Luise*, and discussed the merits of various language textbooks with a fellow passenger; he played chess, walked the decks, and was often absorbed by the beauty of the ocean. Landing in New York, he immediately took the train for Windsor Locks, Connecticut, where he spent the night with his aunt and uncle. The next day he was in Greenwich, where his journey had begun over two years before. He observed little change. "Everything here is so quiet and so dear. I find everything almost as before."⁴⁷

The first full day home was a Sunday and at church he saw many of his old friends, also Mr. Blodgett, now in the forty-seventh year of his pastorate. Henry thought he looked "very young although he is almost 74 years old." In the afternoon he took a walk with his sisters and in the evening he played his violin and wrote a little. For the next two and a half weeks he enjoyed to the fullest the pleasures of being home. He was not free from all outside cares, for he was studying and ordering language textbooks, but these short interruptions were minor, hardly noticeable stirrings in the happy, untroubled stream of his life. The last five days were made perfect by the presence of Harriet. They read and talked, and took long walks in the evening up the Egypt-Prescott hill to enjoy the August sunsets. On the twenty-eighth they left for Wellesley Hills and the Bradfords' home where they had two more days together before Henry left for West Chester.

In 1812 the people of West Chester, Pennsylvania, realizing their need for a school, had started the West Chester Academy. This lack and the response to it were similar to those that founded New Salem Academy. Like New Salem, West Chester flourished in the years prior to 1850, and then declined with the growth of public school education. Many of the Academy's gradu-

ates had gone out into the state and become teachers.⁴⁸ West Chester was a vigorous community in the sixties, and in 1869 the Trustees, recognizing the demand for trained teachers, took the initial steps to change the Academy into a normal school. The citizens of West Chester and vicinity contributed money to carry out the plan. In 1871, when the state began making grants of money to students, it became a state normal school.

By the fall of 1889, when Henry came there to teach, the school had a total enrollment of over seven hundred; the ratio of boys to girls was four to three. There were also ten postgraduate students. The faculty totaled twenty-seven, of whom twelve were men. Two new buildings had just been completed: a large dormitory built of greenstone and marble and another building including a chapel and dining room. Dr. George M. Philips, the principal, was a dynamic and resourceful man with a firm sense of mission to make West Chester a superior training school for teachers. Not only should they be trained to instruct in the elementary schools, but they should be prepared for work in the high schools whose tremendous growth he appreciated. His first problem was to build up a young, vigorous, and well-trained faculty. In the students' paper, *The Aryan Review* of 1890, is a page containing pictures of the entire staff including one of Henry Cutler, and it gives ample proof that Philips had been successful at least in his search for youth and vigor. There was no one who could be called elderly and few were even middle-aged. Henry appears the youngest; he had a full head of hair, side burns and a strong, but gentle face, with features almost delicate.

In the summer of 1889, Dr. Philips sent out a small leaflet to prospective students announcing in glowing terms Henry Cutler's appointment: ". . . among the notable additions will be Prof. Cutler, a graduate of Amherst College . . .; he has spent the last two years in European study, and besides speaking German and French is a thorough Latin, Greek, Italian, and Spanish scholar."⁴⁹ Henry did not have to teach all these subjects, but he did have six classes a day, French, German, Greek, and three sections of Latin. Periods were forty-five minutes long, and in the spring, when he was given an additional section of Latin, he was not through until four in the afternoon. There were no classes on Saturday, and he had virtually no other duties at the school except teaching. Although he had some responsibility toward the running of the dormitory in which he lived, the duties were so slight that they seldom intruded upon any of his plans.

The fall passed much as had any previous period in which he was working and studying. In his Latin classes he followed the example of Professor Vahlen of Berlin by speaking only Latin, and found that it went well with all but the slowest group. He continued his own studies, reading French, German, and Latin. He helped start a political club in the town, a league of Republicans and Democrats, whose purpose seems to have been to secure votes for an "*homme d'honneur*" regardless of party.⁵⁰ He played tennis and practiced on his violin; he visited Philadelphia to shop and to see an occasional play. As always he worked hard and studied long, so that by Christmas vacation he was extremely tired and felt the need of rest. The first half of his holiday he spent in Greenwich with Harriet and for the last half they moved to Wellesley Hills. One evening they went over to Cambridge and heard talks by President Eliot of Harvard and by James Russell Lowell. By the last day of December, Henry had returned to West Chester where he wrote in his diary that the year "has brought me a great deal of happiness and enough sadness. I trust in God now for all that he wishes to bring me this coming year."

Henry did not continue his diary after the close of 1889, and there is little material remaining from which to piece out the events of the winter and spring of 1890. Sometime during the spring he made arrangements with H. D. Newson & Co., agents for "pleasure excursions for teachers," whereby he was to have his expenses paid in return for organizing a party of students to take one of their tours.⁵¹ He could not see any chance of getting married before the end of another year and planned to teach at West Chester again in 1890-1891. Before leaving Europe he had made up his mind that he would return there at the first opportunity and the tours of H. D. Newson made this immediately possible without recourse to his savings.

Meanwhile events at Mount Hermon had taken a new turn.

Already late in 1886, Henry W. Rankin was writing Moody that a school with an opportunity for service such as Mount Hermon's should be developed to its fullest.

I feel perfectly certain that first class results can never by any possibility be reached through the management of any very ordinary man.

Until the resident manager of the school is a man every inch of him, who thoroughly inspires & commands the highest respect of his assistant workers, both for his character & his qualifications, & so equally commands your own respect the school will never be more than half a school.

As a final spur, he added, "It may be extremely difficult to find this perfect man, but surely God is not likely to send him to you so long as you remain content with anything less than the best he had to send."⁵²

The effect of these bold words on Moody was not immediately evident. He was away from the school too much to be able to pass judgment instantly on a problem of such magnitude. But when he was satisfied that Sawyer must go, he acted with such rapidity that he found himself in the spring of 1890 without a superintendent for the next academic year. It was then that he bethought himself of Henry Cutler, who had been acting head at Mount Hermon, had won the respect and affection of both teachers and students, and was engaged to marry Harriet Ford, one of the best loved teachers at Northfield Seminary. Moody did not feel there was time for him to choose a new superintendent, but he hit upon the expedient of asking Cutler to fill the position temporarily until the right man could be found. Still, he spoke to very few if any outside of Miss Ford and Cutler, and delayed making Sawyer's dismissal public so long, that Harriet foresaw a crisis when the announcement came out. On the fifteenth of June she wrote to Henry:

Mr. Moody has not said anything more to me. I do not think he intends to do or say anything until after Tuesday the graduation day and then I think a crisis will come. . . . I do not much believe that it would be Mr. Moody's idea to have us go there with a view to remaining any length of time but more to fill in until they could find some one. I don't think in some ways we are ready to assume the position with a view to remaining. I think a "Rev. or D.D." or something of the kind ought to be there and some one with wider experience. After a few years I think we could do just such work. I think we can now but so much better later. It is hard for me to think of giving up our other plans for specializing but I don't think that would at all stand in the way if the path plainly leads elsewhere. I don't think there is anything for us to do now but wait.⁵³

Henry did not abandon his plan of going to Europe until the twenty-fourth of June, and on the first of July, just four days prior to the Normal School's commencement exercises, he was still uncertain of where he was to be the coming year. The announcement that Sawyer was to leave had brought a strong protest from the students and they had signed a petition asking Moody to retain him. Henry felt that his position should be defined, and he wrote Moody:

Miss Ford has written me of the turn affairs have taken in reference to Mr. Saw-

yer, about this petition for him to remain &c. I would like to have you tell me if you can whether that or other things will make any difference with what we had arranged when I was at Northfield, that is whether you still expect us to go there.⁵⁴

Hastily scribbled on the back of Henry's letter is a note from Moody notifying him that the position of Superintendent of Mount Hermon was his.

Henry had been well liked by the faculty and students at West Chester. He had felt close enough to Dr. Philips to ask his advice about taking the position at Mount Hermon, and Dr. Philips kept his place open for him until final notification from Moody. *The Aryan Review* commenting on him said:

. . . Henry F. Cutler, a master of the subjects he teaches, as well as a master hand at imparting them to others. . . . Besides being a remarkably thorough and successful teacher of Latin and Greek, he . . . teaches German, and French and other continental languages in a way to make his students fall in love with their lessons.⁵⁵

At last Henry and Harriet could make definite plans. On July twenty-third, less than three weeks from the time Henry heard from Moody, they were married at the Bradfords' home in Wellesley Hills. For their honeymoon they went to Niagara Falls and had their tintype taken with an enlarged picture of the Falls as the background. Early in August they returned to Mount Hermon and settled down to the job of preparing for the opening of school.

FIRST YEARS AS PRINCIPAL: MOUNT HERMON

1890-1899

Let all your things have their places; let each part of your business have its time.—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Learn as if you were to live forever; live as if you were to die tomorrow.—GIORDANO ANSALONI.

(Masthead quotation on *The Hermonite*, September, 1890.)

A WEEK after his wedding Henry Cutler received a letter from D. L. Moody, informing him that "Mr. S[awyer] leaves on Monday Aug. 4th & I hope you will get here as soon as you can after Monday so the brake will not be long & then there are many letters to be answered &c." He did think to mention that he was glad Henry was "having a good time."¹ This intrusion on the peaceful happiness of their honeymoon probably did not tend to alter the current of his and Harriet's thoughts. The seriousness of the job that they were about to undertake was ever a part of their life even at this time, and many of their talks dealt with Mount Hermon. The four weeks before the opening of the new term on September third must have proved exceptionally busy for the new couple. Three years had elapsed since Henry had taught at the school and two since Harriet had been there. They had to reacquaint themselves with the school and its new personnel, as well as settling in their new home.

The Hermonite in its fall edition announced that the school year had opened with 296 students, 160 of them new.² Their average age was nineteen.³ The physical setup had not changed since Henry Cutler had left in 1887. The boys were still housed in the five cottages and Crossley Hall, and there was the dining hall and recitation building which contained the library, chapel, and museum, as well as the classrooms and school administra-

tive offices. Originally Moody had planned to have the students housed in family-size buildings. Since he had younger boys, he wanted to recreate the home, "that centre of so great influence over the life and character of the people," at Mount Hermon.⁴ For this reason also he engaged women teachers, feeling that they would be a softening and enriching influence. When he opened the school to older students, the enrollment increased rapidly, and he was forced to give up the expensive housing plan and build Crossley, a large dormitory. The women teachers still held an important place, in fact the efficacy of the original argument was reinforced, because so many of the older boys had missed the refining influence of women during much of their youth.

Mount Hermon in 1890 was an unique institution. Over the course of the next forty years the reforms in the country's educational system were to go a long way toward eliminating the pressing need for such a place, and gradually it lost its unique character and became much like other privately endowed schools. Originally it was for poor young men whose education had been interrupted. When the time came that they were free to resume their studies, they had no place to go, for high schools would not take them and the private preparatory schools were too costly.

Moody, realizing this soon after he had founded Mount Hermon, changed the minimum age requirement for entrance to sixteen, and set it the task of educating these men. For the most part they were mature, they had worked at various trades, and they knew what they wanted. The Mount Hermon that Henry Cutler took over in 1890 was not a college preparatory school, for the larger percentage of its students did not intend to go on to college, but wanted merely to complete a course equal to a high school education. Many did not even have as advanced a goal as this, and their mission was to learn to read, write, spell, and to acquire the basic tools of mathematics.

The school was young and it was doing a new and important job. Its future was by no means secure and its existence was from one day to the next. Moody had rejected suggestions for a large endowment that would eliminate the necessity of his constantly having to ask for funds. He wanted many people to support Mount Hermon, and he knew there was no better way of killing interest than by ridding the school of financial worries. The total cost of tuition, board, room, laundry, and medical care per student for the entire year in 1890 was \$107.40. Moody did not believe in outright charity,

feeling that each student should have the responsibility of paying, at least in part, for his education. Most of the boys paid their own tuition with money they had earned over a long period and saved through careful economy. It was their investment. A great percentage of them came to Mount Hermon because of Moody. Many had heard his sermons, had been to his meetings, and were imbued with the desire to "count most for the cause of Christ." The first step in this direction, according to Moody, was to educate themselves that they might better serve. It was natural for them to go to Mount Hermon.

Henry Cutler in September of 1890 was in his twenty-ninth year. Five feet five in height, he had thick, muscular shoulders. The youthful, delicate features of his face were rounding out and his rapidly balding head belied his youth. What special gifts did this young man bring to his new position? It would almost seem that Moody, if he had spent years searching for a man to take over his school, could not have chosen more wisely. It was as if Henry's whole life and training had been directed toward fitting him for Mount Hermon. A major portion of his first twenty-four years was spent working on his father's farm. He had mastered the many odd jobs that make a farmer a jack-of-all-trades. At an early age he had shouldered definite responsibilities, on the fulfillment of which his family depended. Farm labor gave him a strong, tough body, and accustomed him to working long hours. One of his administrative responsibilities at Mount Hermon was the running of its large farm, which was a source of much of the school's food, of its milk, cream, and butter. While its management devolved on a subordinate, the overall accountability was his.

Henry Cutler had set himself the goal of a college education from his early youth, but he had attained it only through hard work, and his education had not been uninterrupted. Thus his own experience was much the same as that of most of the boys at Mount Hermon, and he was well equipped to understand their problems.

The essence of the best traditions of New England had been distilled into his early education; he was independent in thought and action, thrifty, persistent, and conscientious. The training in scholarship at Amherst and in Europe, both in Geneva and Berlin, gave him an intellectual background that assured his leadership among his faculty. His standards of education were not confined to one college or one section of the country; he had been

exposed to the standards, methods, and ideas of European schools and colleges as well. He had a continuing intellectual interest.

His teaching experience had been limited to Guilford, a year at Mount Hermon in which he had been for a month and a half the acting headmaster, one year in the Institut at Glay, tutoring in Paris and Geneva, and a year at the West Chester State Normal School. His venture in running a bookstore had given him some practical experience in finance, and his whole upbringing had trained him to live economically. To him, one of the greatest crimes was waste, whether it be of money, material, or time.

Henry Rankin wrote to Moody in 1886 concerning the characteristics necessary for a superintendent, "I want to see it in the hands of a resident manager who is full of . . . the Holy Ghost."⁵ Moody stated this more forcefully in his sermons: "No man is fit for God's service who is filled with doubts . . . [of his own salvation]. If a man is not sure of his own salvation, how can he help anyone else into the kingdom of God?"⁶ Henry was fortunate in having attended the Theological School of Geneva, even though it was for but one and a half terms. He had had opened to him paths of religious study, enabling him to continue independently Bible study, a fundamental part of Mount Hermon's religious training.

Besides all this, he had become a faithful follower of D. L. Moody.

I first knew him in the fall of 1886 when, fresh from college, I came to Mount Hermon as a teacher. I recognized him at once as a leader and guide. I have tried to follow him from that time to this as leader and guide as he followed Christ.⁷

He might have written about Moody's influence as did Dr. Wilfred T. Grenfell: "He helped me to see myself as God sees the 'unprofitable servant,' and to be ashamed. He started me working for all I was worth, and made religion real fun—a new field brimming with opportunities."⁸ Moody had given Henry a strong determination to follow Christ. From his first meeting with Moody he was a sincere and convinced evangelical Christian. Such was the training of the man who, at twenty-eight, had taken charge of this young but rapidly growing school.

There can be no proper evaluation of Mount Hermon and of Henry Cutler's administration of it without an understanding of Dwight L. Moody.⁹ To picture his influence is difficult when one is faced by statements such as this made by one of his intimate co-workers: ". . . Mr. Moody was one of those gigantic personalities of unique and titantic dynamic force who can-

not be described adequately on the printed page and whose influence can never be comprehended in any printed book." He had a boundless energy which he channeled in one direction: "To win men and women to Christ and to win for Christ his right place in the world." In this singleness of purpose lay his greatest strength. No obstacle was to him insuperable.

He believed that . . . [turning to Christ] was the one essential thing and that all else would flow from it. So he went through the world preaching Christ and inviting men to take Him as their Savior and Lord and to come to life and joy and power and freedom and usefulness in Him.

His practicality, forcefulness, shrewdness, self-denial, and unshakeable faith gave him a strength that has rarely, if ever, been matched by other evangelists. "Forgetting himself and remembering God was the central principle of the man. . . . We have never seen anyone who illustrated as fully as he did the fulfillment of Christ's promise, 'He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of the depth of his life shall flow rivers of living water.'"¹⁰ His influence was not ephemeral, it was lasting. When he awakened a man to his own potentialities in a Christian life, it was a permanent awakening. Moody, perhaps, had his greatest sway over those men whose hopes and lives had been darkened early by a dismal, poverty-afflicted existence. These men were made to envision their possibilities as infinite, through God's love for them. Henry Cutler, speaking over thirty years after Moody's death, said: "I suppose he saw the possibilities, the potentialities in youth. He believed in youth, in young men, believed that the world needed just the power that lay in young men, and that was the beginning of his Mt. Hermon School."¹¹ An estimate of Moody's contribution given in *The Outlook* shortly after his death says:

It would be difficult to name any man in the present century who has done so much to give the power of spiritual vision to men who having eyes saw not, having ears heard not; to give hope to men who were living in dull despair or, even more fatally, dull self-content, and to give that love which is righteousness, and that righteousness which is love.¹²

The founding of the school was part and parcel of Moody's evangelistic career. As one friend expressed it, "His hope for the future of religion was set on the discovery of young men who should be intellectually as well as piously fit."¹³ Mount Hermon was to supply the "education that is going to inspire and qualify a large proportion of its subjects to do very effective Christian work."¹⁴

In choosing a superintendent, Moody was selecting an associate, a peer and not an underling. Since he spent little time at Mount Hermon, he must have someone upon whom to depend and not someone to supervise. His interest in the school was constant, but

. . . he did not interfere or hamper his subordinates in any way . . . his habit was to get helpers whom he could trust, men and women who knew their business thoroughly, and then leave them to do it with none of that nagging criticism and suspicion which make executive efficiency so difficult, if not impossible.¹⁵

As Moody was away from Northfield so much, his only contact was through hastily written notes to Henry Cutler, unpunctuated, spirited, and trenchant. His closest concern was that new students should make best use of the opportunities on the "hill." On his evangelistic tours he would mention the school, collect money for it, and keep an eye out for likely students as well as for boys who should not be admitted. He would write, "I am told there is a boy by the name of — of this place trying to get into Mt. Hermon look out for him I do not hear good reports of him."¹⁶ He continually urged Cutler to get rid of the doubtful students.

I hope you can get out the boys who have run down instead of up this last year I think it will be a good reason for not letting them come back and fill up with boys that will do the best they can.

If you have a good number to pick from you can tone up the school every year and get better men from year to year.¹⁷

And later: ". . . and if you have got any in the school who do not mean business let us sift them out this coming fall and get in good men in their place."¹⁸

D. L. Moody's impress was cut deeply into the school's religious life. His hope was that many Mount Hermon students would become ministers, missionaries, Christian workers, and that all, no matter what their work, would so live as to exert a strong Christian influence in their communities. To this end the religious program of the school aimed to awaken the men to the greater opportunities of a Christian life. The evangelical spirit reached a high point of ardor during Moody's visits.

The Bible courses, a basic subject for every student, were the most specific examples of his imprint. In his sermons he emphasized the importance of a thorough familiarity with the Bible.

I think I would rather preach about the Word of God than anything else except the Love of God; because I believe it is the best thing in this world.

A quickening that will last must come through the Word of God. . . . The more you love the Scriptures, the firmer will be your faith. There is little back-sliding when people love the Scriptures. If you come into closer contact with the Word, you will gain something that will last because the Word of God is going to endure.¹⁹

To be effective missionaries, ministers, or laymen, the young men must know how to use their Bibles. "I never saw a fruit-bearing Christian who was not a student of the Bible. . . . We must have the Word itself, which is sharper than any two-edged sword." Study of the Scriptures was more important than prayer meetings. Each pupil was to bring his Bible to school with him to read it in his room, to study it in class, to use it in his dormitory prayer meetings, and to take it to Sabbath school. Moody's idea was that "When I pray, I talk to God, but when I read the Bible, God is talking to me; and it is really more important that God should speak to me than that I should speak to Him." It is impossible in a proper understanding of the school to overstate the importance of the place of the Bible and of Moody's continued stress on it. "Bear in mind there is no situation in life for which you cannot find some word of consolation in Scripture."²⁰

Moody fought against any letting down of the Sabbath observance. In the 1890's he wrote:

I believe that the sabbath question today is a vital one for the whole country. It is the burning question of the present time. If you give up the sabbath the church goes; if you give up the church the home goes; and if the home goes the nation goes. . . .

The church of God is losing its powers on account of so many people giving up the sabbath, and using it to promote selfishness.²¹

The Sabbath was intended as a day on which people should rest their bodies and refresh their souls. Ordinary work should be stopped and religious exercises held. All secular work should be put aside and to fail to do this was willfully to break one of God's ordinances. No activity should be indulged in that would deprive other people of their right to observe the Sabbath as God intended. Consequently, to keep kitchen work at a minimum, Sunday meals were prepared on Saturday. No boy was expected to study secular subjects on Sunday and, to make as nearly certain of this as possible, no classes were held on Monday. Although Moody believed that "strictness does more harm than good," he insisted that the ob-

servance of the Sabbath should include religious services, prayer, meditation, reading, study of the Bible, and "some definite Christian work,—such as teaching in Sunday school, or visiting the sick."²² The three great temptations of the Sabbath were the trolley car, the bicycle, and the Sunday newspaper, and Moody would certainly have added the automobile if he had lived long enough to see it. These were the lines along which Henry Cutler was expected to run Mount Hermon, and he was, on the whole, sympathetic to them. Far from being influenced by the general lack of observance of the Sabbath in Europe, he felt more and more strongly the need of a day set apart for meditation. In later years, he was often heard to say, "I should be sorry to see the continental Sabbath brought to Mount Hermon."

The open disapproval which Sawyer's sudden dismissal had roused among some of the faculty, and even among the boys, was the first problem that Henry Cutler had to overcome. One Hermon graduate wrote him later, "We were already enrolled as students when you succeeded Dr. Henry Sawyer. We loved him and held him in high esteem, and we wondered how you would fit into the place he had left vacant."²³ Cutler's initial job was to unify the school. *The Hermonite* showed that he was making a successful start when it stated:

The older Hermonites cannot but feel most severely the loss of Prof. Sawyer, who has been so long at the head of this institution. But in the new principal we feel that we have a gentleman who is worthy of the confidence of every friend of Hermon and by the united efforts of teachers and students, the school cannot suffer retrogression.²⁴

By the end of the second year of his administration he had succeeded so well that one of the teachers later recalled: "There was surprisingly little friction."²⁵ And Moody wrote, "I thank God for the spirit of unity & if you can keep that with all your workers you will make the school good in spiritual power."²⁶ It was this very "spirit of unity" that Cutler infused into Mount Hermon during these first years that made possible the growth, improved the scholarship, and assured the future of the school. Mount Hermon was nine years old in 1890, its growth until then had been uncertain and without plan. The only leadership it had had was from the all too infrequent visits of Moody. This was an unhealthy situation and one that Henry Cutler set about immediately to rectify. The story of the first nine years of his principalship is a record of his success.

Henry's first concern was for the faculty, perhaps the most important

factor in the development of any school. He wrote to Moody from West Chester on July 1, 1890, "I feel anxious about knowing [whether I am to be principal of Mount Hermon] so as to continually be on the lookout for teachers who will work there."²⁷ At Mount Hermon he took over a staff which he had had no part in selecting and which he could not change for at least a year. The salaries he was able to offer to prospective teachers were small. He himself had only received forty dollars a month in 1886, yet he had had a college education and some previous teaching experience. Although it was an advantage in the instruction of young men for the school to be situated so far from cities or towns, it proved a disadvantage in attracting instructors. The one thing that Cutler could offer in the first years was a schedule of work that allowed the teacher freedom for his own study. Classes were held only in the morning with none at all on Mondays. There were no athletic coaching duties, and the school seldom made demands on the teacher's time beyond that of conducting his classes.

The faculty Henry Cutler inherited, seventeen in number, ten women and seven men, was professionally not up to the standards of the best private schools. Only eight of them held more than high school diplomas, and three of these were women. Few women attended college in those days and still fewer went into teaching. Many of the first women at Hermon came from the Northfield Seminary, and most of the others, both men and women, had learned to teach by experience alone, though some had graduated from Normal School. They were young, and by and large they were infused with a spiritual enthusiasm for their work, which was a part of youth, and which had been increased and strengthened by association with Moody and their unshakeable belief in the school's mission. But high ideals and spiritual dedication could not make up for professional training, and the desire to help young men to a Christian life did not take the place of higher salaries. The teaching staffs of Exeter and Andover were entirely manned by men who had not only had college educations but for the most part had taken graduate training. Of the importance of this last, Henry Cutler was well aware from his own experience. The major problem that faced him was to equip the school with the best faculty possible under the stringent conditions. During these first nine years he built the nucleus of a staff that was to carry on through most of his principalship.

He chose his teachers as often as possible from among people he had known personally. In this way he selected Miss Elizabeth Conway to teach

modern languages in 1891.²⁸ Having met her in Germany in 1889, and again at West Chester, he was much impressed by her scholarship and character, and called her to Mount Hermon as soon as there was an opening. He generally found his instructors by asking members of the faculty, friends, or graduates of the school to suggest men they believed would make the kind of teacher Mount Hermon needed. Because he preferred young people he occasionally called on someone to instruct who had not seriously thought of the profession before. One of the most brilliant young men in the school during the nineties was G. Glenn Atkins, who taught history. One day, in the spring of 1892 when Atkins was attending a class in Hebrew at the Yale Divinity School, "there was a knock at the door, a medium-sized man, compactly built, half entered and asked for me rather hesitantly. He introduced himself as the Principal of Mt. Hermon School and needed, he said (all this in the corridor) a history teacher." Atkins later wrote that "I have always gratefully supposed that two classmates—one of whom had taught at Mt. Hermon, and the other been a student there, had suggested the mutual possibility to Mr. Cutler."²⁹

Henry tried to get at least one superior teacher in each field and then build around these nuclei. Once he found a person in whom he had confidence, he did all he could to make it possible for him to stay. More and more he grew to feel that an important factor in the healthy life of the school was a personnel framework that gave stability through continued service.

Charles E. Dickerson and Florence E. Flagg, the latter not a college graduate, came to Mount Hermon as teachers of science before Cutler was made principal. He was quick to see their value, and they continued instructing for many years, making the sciences outstanding in their popularity with the boys and in the effectiveness and high standards of their teaching. The spirit of their work became traditional, and was passed along to those who joined them and replaced them. In 1891 James McConaughy, who had had extensive experience in YMCA work previous to his coming to Mount Hermon, took over the Bible training. Forceful and efficient, he immediately reorganized the Bible studies into a more comprehensive program, giving this vital course stimulating leadership. He was one of the few members of the faculty with graduate training. In 1895 Cutler was able to add to the staff Lyon L. Norton, and in 1896 Stephen Stark. Both had done graduate work and were to serve the school during the rest of Cutler's principalship—Norton in mathematics and Stark in classics. Here again the high standards of

teaching and scholarship in their departments proved an inspiration and a challenge.

Henry's method of filling administrative positions was also based wherever possible on personal knowledge as well as on making the best use of the material he inherited. William F. Nichols, who had started as a teacher of mathematics in 1888, was moved gradually from instruction to administration where Cutler realized he would be more useful and happier. Nichols's intense loyalty to the school was made use of, not lost, which might have been the case if only his merits as a teacher had been judged. In much the same way Miss Mary J. Miller, one of the most able members of the school's staff, passed across the lines from teaching to administration. It is difficult to judge her value to Mount Hermon because her contribution to its efficient running was so great. She was for many years secretary, recorder, and registrar. Another valuable source of assistants were the graduates of the school. Two of these were Richard L. Watson, who became the head of the dining hall and director of the work program, and George McMillan, who was in charge of the buildings and grounds.

Of a slightly different quality was Cutler's lifelong friendship with Ambert G. Moody, D. L.'s nephew, a graduate of Mount Hermon and Amherst who returned to devote his life to the schools. In the first years of Mount Hermon's existence, as a boy of 18, he was placed in charge of the farm, campus, and buildings, and was also the school's bursar. Later he was to play a significant part in the development of the Hotel Northfield and the summer conferences, and became assistant treasurer and clerk of the Trustees.

It was Cutler's responsibility also to choose as students the boys and young men who would profit most from the school. Finding candidates offered no problem, for no place other than Mount Hermon offered an education to older boys. The task rather was to sort out the best applicants, and to decide which students already in the school should be allowed to remain. Recognizing the signal importance of selecting the right boys, and his responsibility to see that as many of the deserving as possible had a chance at an education, Henry himself shouldered the work of admissions. Since he rarely saw an applicant before he had been provisionally accepted and had arrived at Mount Hermon, he had to depend almost entirely upon the information given on admission blanks, and the remarks of the minister whose recommendation accompanied them. One teacher of that time remarked "that the principal must . . . [have had] an almost sixth sense for the rightness and

promise of an applicant."³⁰ There were no hard and fast rules guiding Cutler; selection was arrived at by a gradual process of sifting.

The criterion which determined whether a boy could remain was not necessarily scholastic, nor was it based upon how well he obeyed the school's few rules. It depended almost entirely upon his use of the opportunities he was being given. The final decision was reached by Cutler in a teachers' meeting prior to the end of each term, when the faculty discussed with him the conduct (i.e., seriousness of purpose) of each boy. Since the verdict was Cutler's, the responsibility for the character of the student body was his.

He wrote to the trustees in 1897, "The spirit of self-support has characterized the whole school." How could it have been otherwise when one considers that more than one third of the students were self-supporting,

and besides these, nearly one half have earned, averaging man by man, more than one half of their school expenses. Less than one fifth of the entire student body are dependent upon others and in this class are included day students. . . . Nearly one half of the students have lost either father or mother which has meant for many of them the breaking up of the home and the scattering of the family. A considerable number have never known what it is to have a home. In the present Senior class each member, on an average, has been away from home eight years, making the age fourteen years, at which nearly every one went out to provide for himself. Five sixths of the Senior class have been self-supporting during the entire course, and of the remainder, with one exception, all have earned more than one half of their school expenses.³¹

A student body such as this was bound to influence the working of an institution. It particularly affected the handling of discipline. Too many young men were trying to get into the school and avail themselves of its opportunities for Cutler to indulge dawdlers and drones. Moreover the students themselves usually had too much to learn to waste precious time in trouble-making. Cutler's attitude toward a boy who had broken one of the few rules was that he had broken faith with Mount Hermon. As a large portion of the pupils' expenses was being paid by people who gave each year to the school's upkeep, he had squandered their money. As a steward protecting their investment, the principal must therefore ask the offender to leave. This does not mean that he had no sympathy with young men who had real troubles. "D. L. Moody's gospel included a vast amount of redemptive patience."³² Another cause for dismissal was when a student clearly did not believe in the Bible. To one such boy he wrote:

If you don't believe the Bible and don't want to and don't intend to believe it, I don't want you back here. I want men who believe the Bible and I would rather the school would cease to exist than that it should send out such men.³³

The school was founded upon the Bible and D. L. Moody had expressed himself in similar terms at the laying of the cornerstone of a new school building, when he placed a Bible in it.

In 1890 there were four Courses of Study at Mount Hermon: the Preparatory, the Biblical, the Classical, and the Scientific. They had taken form without much thought or planning, and though they had developed according to the general requirements of the student body, they were inelastic, and failed to allow for the tremendous variety of individual needs. Many boys, as already pointed out, had practically to begin their education again. The need for basic training and review had given rise to the Preparatory Course, the dictum laid down by D. L. Moody being "to give an education that would have done me good when I was a boy." Fully aware of his own shortcomings in penmanship, spelling, and grammar, he always tried to stimulate interest in these subjects when he was at Mount Hermon. When away he often asked Cutler to have the students write him letters, so that he could see how they were improving their handwriting and use of English.³⁴ The Preparatory Course followed this emphasis, its objective being to instruct new students who required it in the use of the tools prerequisite for any of the other Courses.

The Biblical Course, aimed at training future Christian workers, had narrow boundaries. Bible and Greek were the basic subjects in each of the four years, and to these were added history, physiology, mathematics, psychology, ethics, and literature. The Classical Course, which was preparatory to college, followed the lines set down by the New England Academies, centering on Latin, Greek, and mathematics. The Scientific Course, for entrance into technical and science schools, required no classical languages, only one year of a modern language, and consisted mainly of mathematics, and the physical and biological sciences. Each Course, in addition to the subjects already outlined, included required work in singing, elocution, and "English," that is composition and rhetoric.

It was obvious to Henry Cutler soon after he arrived that this system did not meet the needs of the students. By far the largest percentage did not graduate, for this they had neither the time nor the money, and what they believed to be their educational needs did not fit any preplanned schedule.

The school's leading purpose was to "furnish for earnest Christian young men who desire to serve the Master, opportunities to secure a better preparation for such service, whether in professional or business life, than otherwise would be within their reach."³⁵ These opportunities were patently not being furnished under a forbidding system of compulsory courses.

The basic problem facing Cutler was what should and should not be taught in the secondary school. The simple classical program of the academies, as exhibited by New Salem when he was a student in the late seventies, was rapidly being expanded with the natural sciences, modern languages, courses in English literature, and a whole host of allied subjects such as bookkeeping, psychology, and economics. Specialization had given way to diversification. The pressure was on the principals to stretch the curriculum to include more subjects each year, thus imposing even greater burdens on the teaching staffs and, where the faculty had to be increased, on the school budgets. The older and narrowly-set-up course of study badly needed to be enlarged; a moderate and guided reform was long overdue. But course additions followed with increasing rapidity during the 1880's until the pendulum of change had swung too far.

Cutler's handling of the problem of reform is a good example of his character and of his technique of running the school efficiently and harmoniously. He would allow friendly debate during the teachers' meetings, seldom expressing an opinion himself, but listening intently, gathering and collating all the information upon which to make up his mind. He strenuously disliked forming a judgment rapidly, and whenever he could, delayed until the last possible moment. This trait came from a hard-headed, conservative desire to get the right answer. He felt that nothing was more harmful than to reach a decision involving a radical change in the life of an institution merely in order to exhibit authority.

It was at this critical juncture in the organization of Mount Hermon's curriculum that Henry Cutler first heard of the Schools' Examination Board of Harvard University. President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard, who had so energetically and effectively raised the caliber of instruction there, and who had broadened and enriched the curriculum in the years since he became president in 1869, had turned his attention in the 1880's to the secondary schools. Many of the problems that faced him at Harvard were the result of misdirected and incomplete preparation in the schools, and he realized that no reform at college level could be satisfactory until the schools themselves

had been improved. His opening speech in this campaign, delivered in Washington, D.C., at a meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the National Educational Association, February 16, 1888, was entitled "Can School Programmes Be Shortened and Enriched?" He deplored the excessive time given to reviewing elementary subjects, hours which in considerable part kept the student from proceeding to a higher branch of learning. He argued that the advanced course, in calling on previous training, would be the best of all possible reviews. The ultimate result would be not only the earlier completion of the secondary school course, but a more competent knowledge of all subjects covered.

In the Boston Arena in June of 1890, again addressing the National Educational Association, he gave a speech on "The Gap Between Common Schools and Colleges," in which he held that "to improve secondary education: (1) more schools are needed; (2) the existing schools need to be brought to common and higher standards, so that the colleges may find in the school courses a firm, broad, and reasonably homogeneous foundation for their higher work." Under the second point he discussed the problem of admission requirements, reviewing the system then in force at the University of Michigan which admitted "candidates on the diplomas of any schools, near or remote, within the State or without, which are visited and accepted once in three years by a committee of the Faculty, or by other persons designated by the University."³⁶ He illustrated the obvious advantages of this method to both school and college in closer relations, better integration of programs, and higher standards. As a plan of admission this had many drawbacks which Eliot did not fail to point out. The idea, however, had merit in his eyes as a means to other ends. He sincerely wanted to help the schools improve their courses of study and to accomplish this he was willing to use the faculty of the University.

During the academic year 1891-1892 the faculty of Harvard University

gave much consideration to the elaboration of a proposition for offering to preparatory schools the services of a University board of examination. For some years there has been a visible tendency towards closer relations and mutual observation as to the needs of colleges and schools in their respective parts of the field of education. It was believed that the time had come when the University could perform a public service, by giving to schools the opportunity for a careful inspection, by a body recognized as having a deep interest in promoting their efficiency and success, so far as this can be done by friendly offices from without.

President Eliot stated the aims of this board as follows:

Heretofore the Faculty has exercised its influence on secondary schools solely by its requirements for admission. It is now to add to the influence of its examination papers a direct friendly intercourse with schools themselves. It is to endeavor to affect directly the teaching within the schools by sympathetic intercourse with the teachers, friendly criticism, and frank discussion of common aims and needs.³⁷

President Eliot, Dean Charles F. Dunbar, three other professors from the University, Mr. William C. Collar, Headmaster of the Roxbury Latin School, and Mr. Frank A. Hill, Principal of the Cambridge High School, were the members of the Schools' Examination Board.

Henry Cutler jumped at the chance to obtain advice from such an authoritative source as Harvard University. Writing to President Eliot, he requested that an examination be made of Mount Hermon and received a circular describing more fully the scope of the inspection. President Eliot also wrote him from Northeast Harbor, Maine, on August 1, 1892:

I am told that a circular describing the Schools' Examination Board of Harvard University has been sent to you. If after examining the prospect in detail you still desire to apply for an examination of your School, will you kindly address another note to me.³⁸

Cutler believed that the report of such a Board would strengthen his position in the school by silencing criticisms based on his youth and inexperience. It would also guard against any ill-feeling amongst members of the faculty who felt that their particular wishes were not given due consideration.

He set about getting the approval of the Trustees and raising the hundred and twenty dollars needed to defray the cost of the report. At a teachers' meeting on October 27, 1893, he was able to announce that arrangements had been completed to survey during the coming year the Departments of Classics, Mathematics, English, History, and Science, and also the administration.³⁹

The report of the entire Board and the separate comments of each examiner are a mine of valuable material on Mount Hermon during this early period of Cutler's administration. He was in the fourth year of his principalship and the thirteenth of the school's existence when the investigation was made, and it is safe to say that what the examiners found at Mount Hermon was to a large degree the result of Henry Cutler's labors.⁴⁰

The men who examined the school were, in English: Dean of Harvard College, Le Baron R. Briggs; in Classics: Professor John H. Wright; in History: Professor Ephraim Emerton; in Administration: Assistant Professor Paul H. Hanus; in Science: Instructor Joseph Torrey, Jr.; and in Mathematics: Instructor James L. Love. Most of them had been on the board which examined the nine schools reported on in the previous year, among which were Phillips Exeter Academy, Roxbury Latin, Groton, St. Marks, and Milton Academy. The opening paragraph of the joint report sent to Cutler indicates the feeling of the examiners after their visit to Mount Hermon:

The Board desired to express in general their hearty approval of the scholarly aims and achievements of the school. . . . At the same time they wish to congratulate the management upon securing so effective a principle of association and so strong a motive power to carry out their aims into successful results. They have been especially impressed by the unanimity of judgement shown by a group of examiners differing very widely, one from the other in training and in the points of view from which they would be likely to approach any school. No one of these examiners had any previous knowledge of Mt. Hermon; certainly none was inclined to over-estimate it; but all became convinced that it is a most promising and interesting experiment.⁴¹

Although these men were at the school for only one or two days, the spirit of Mount Hermon was borne in upon them. Each report commented on the almost consecrated attitude of the students and the devotion of the teachers. The latter especially welcomed the suggestions of the investigators for their improvement.

The faculty as a whole made a favorable impression on the Board. One examiner wrote: "I met a dozen officers of the school without doubting the earnestness of a one," and he characterized this trait further as being "an unpolished earnestness that commands respect and keeps it."⁴² Another wrote after a meeting with the faculty: "At this conference the impression I had previously formed of the teachers as an earnest and interesting corps of instructors was strengthened."⁴³

One of the examiners testified to Cutler's success in forming the student body:

The serious purpose which each boy is required to show who is permitted to remain supplements the effect of the religious sentiment in this regard. Both together have established a powerful *esprit de corps* in favor of all worthy en-

deavor and conscientious performance of duty. So powerful and effective has this common sentiment become that in matters of discipline the pupils practically manage themselves, and "cases of discipline" are almost unknown. Conformity to school requirements is insisted upon by the boys themselves. . . . The boys are simply in earnest. They insist on being permitted to make the most of their opportunities. In doing so, each one really feels that he is working for "The Master."⁴⁴

There were many reasons for this happy condition. Among the most important were the work program and the Christian cast of the school's daily life which was fostered by both students and teachers, as well as inspired by the energetic warmth and love of D. L. Moody's visits. Each inspector noted the role of religion. One specifically mentioned that "the School believes . . . the religious instruction has the effect of binding the students together into a harmonious working force and certainly that result is, in some way or other attained."⁴⁵ The Harvard group rather expected to find that the Christian aim of Mount Hermon dominated and weakened its scholarly purposes, but this suspicion proved wholly unfounded. They felt sound principles of scholarship would tend to strengthen the school's religious life. The threat to learning from an unbalanced religious program lay in a throttling of new ideas in education. The Board, however, found that the spirit of Mount Hermon in this respect was distinctly progressive.

During the year of the examination Cutler had dropped the Biblical Course from the curriculum. Every student was still required to take a class in Bible study each year, and under McConaughy's leadership this program was reorganized and tightened. Henry Cutler and the faculty agreed that the elimination of this Course was much needed, for it was the narrowest in scope and had generally drawn the poorest students. Here was another indication that the secular aims of the school were not being subordinated to the religious. It is an important bit of evidence that Cutler was able, so early in his principalship, to swing the emphasis of the school studies back to more practical goals. The change brought about no loss in the number of men going into Christian work, and those who did take it up were in the end better prepared.

One of the most comprehensive suggestions of the report was that the four-course curriculum be abandoned entirely, that instruction in each subject be grouped together and that each pupil be allowed to make his own combinations with proper restriction. Action was taken on this for the fol-

lowing academic year with the setting up of an Elective Course, giving the student almost complete freedom of choice. Though the older more formal Courses were retained, they were used mainly as guides for admission to specialized training.⁴⁶

The Elective Course comprised all the major subject changes suggested by the Board. History was offered in each of the four years and the instruction in English was increased in amount and in scope. Instead of abruptly remodeling the entire curriculum and unnecessarily disrupting the school life, Cutler added a plan of study that incorporated the recommended improvements and allowed a natural change to take place through usage. Experience proved its value, and the elimination of the older, stereotyped Courses was gradually accepted.

One recommendation which the Board strongly urged, Henry Cutler did not follow. The examiners had been tremendously impressed with the amount of time the teaching schedule allowed the faculty for their own work. The original plan, under which all classes were in the morning, made it extremely difficult and awkward to run the work program, upon which the school depended almost entirely for its existence, and which had appealed to the Harvard examiners. Under this program the labor required to run the school and the farm was supplied by the students, who worked an average of thirteen and a half hours a week. They cooked the meals, ran the dining halls and a laundry, helped run the school farm, which included taking care of a large herd of cows and other livestock as well as planting, cultivating, and harvesting, cleaned the buildings and did other plant maintenance, cleared the play fields and cared for the grounds. In more than one sense the school was truly theirs, and this muscular connection with its physical growth bound together closely for the rest of their lives all those who attended Mount Hermon. This was especially true during these first years when the physical plant was rapidly taking shape. One of the Harvard examiners observed that

the requirement of manual labor, economically wasteful, as has been proved at Mt. Hermon by careful comparisons, is valued by the school as giving to the young men the occupation without which they are exposed to moral temptation and in which they may learn many things that will be of value to them in after life. The evident evil that many a pupil is occupied in trivial work at times when he might be better employed, is in the judgment of the school more than counter-balanced by the good effect upon the mass of pupils. The impression upon the visitor of

three hundred young men working heartily and happily together, without distinctions, except such as come from greater or less capacity, is very inspiring.⁴⁷

Many of the chores assigned to students had to be performed in the morning, particularly on the farm, and this conflicted with the schedule of classes. D. L. Moody, the trustees, Cutler, the faculty, and many of the former students all felt strongly that the work hours should be retained as a vital part of the training. Cutler's solution was to divide the school day into four two-hour work periods covering both morning and afternoon, and extend recitations into the afternoons. The Board urged that the school reconsider the old plan,

. . . the early beginning and early ending of the formal school day. . . . They realize, better perhaps than any single Principal or board of school trustees can do, how great an obstacle to the improvement of the profession of teaching comes from the belief among young men that their scholarly development must cease when they begin the teacher's life. The long hours in the schoolroom and out of it usually demanded of teachers do in fact, generally reduce their time for self-improvement to a low minimum. The arrangements at Mount Hermon are exceptionally favorable in this particular. It seems quite clear that no small part of the excellence of the teacher's work comes from the right use of the liberal time afforded them for improvement in their several fields of study. Nothing contributes more to the scholar's advancement than continuous working time and nothing retards it more than continual interruptions caused by the petty routine. The Board therefore ventures to express a hope that you will seriously consider whether the ultimate advantage of the school would not be better consulted by retaining the present arrangement of hours and making this a distinct means of attracting to your service the highest grade of teachers.⁴⁸

Henry Cutler was by no means insensitive to such a plea, especially since he valued so highly the experience of his own first year at Mount Hermon, when he had had enough time to continue his reading and his study of German. The relative freedom he had enjoyed had contributed tremendously to the profitable use of his two years in Europe. On the other hand, the faculty, thanks to the peculiarly mature student body, were free from much of the petty time-consuming disciplinary supervision necessary in other schools, and the new program, though less convenient, would not be fatal to their further study. Cutler had the choice of cutting into the free time allowed the faculty, or abandoning the work program upon which the fabric of the school, economically and spiritually, largely depended. Though

he chose the former course, no one can say that the caliber of the faculty was in any way weakened thereby.

The benefits from the change proved substantial. The number of recitation periods was increased almost a third, and their length ten minutes. It was this that made possible the inauguration of the new Elective Course, for the old plan reduced the students' class hours to an impractical minimum. The new plan gave much needed elasticity and freedom of choice. The longer recitation hours enhanced the effectiveness of individual courses, since each subject could be delved into more deeply. On the farm, twenty-five per cent more land was brought under cultivation.

During 1897-1898 Cutler proposed that the school year be composed of three sixteen-week terms, which meant almost continuous operation. This bold idea would greatly extend the usefulness of the school, for the capacity enrollment had been reached without decreasing pressure from young men desiring admission. Henry Cutler had experimented one year renting a farm about a mile from Mount Hermon in order to house more boys, but this had not been successful and was soon abandoned. How could the school be more fully used? During the long, warm summer months, the healthiest time of the year, the buildings were empty, and the time was wasted. It was to this period that Cutler and the faculty turned their attention. There were many other advantages in the three term system. The operating costs were lower during the summer when there were no charges for heat and practically none for light. The yearly deficit would be decreased. The advantages for the students were that they finished their course more rapidly, those depending upon seasonal employment could leave to take up work in any season, and they could also return at any time, for all the important courses were to begin afresh with each new term. During the year 1898-1899 the plan received the approval of Moody and the Trustees, and with the administrative details completed it was put into operation in the fall.

Cutler was continually on the alert to keep abreast of progress in education. In 1893 he joined the National Educational Association, whose reports he had been reading for the preceding few years. He took a keen interest in the new developments in educational theory and practice, and he saw that his faculty kept pace with what was new in their fields. The Harvard Board noted with pleasure that Mount Hermon possessed at the time of their visit the latest report of the National Educational Association, which surveyed the main courses being taught in the secondary schools. What pleased the

Board most was that not only did Mount Hermon have the report, but also they were utilizing many of its recommendations.

Nor was Cutler's breadth of interest confined to the United States. While at Amherst he had come to feel that a scholar could not consider himself fully trained unless he had studied in Germany. Our own graduate schools had been modeled upon the German ones, and it was "to these great intellectual shrines" that American students in the eighties made every effort to go.⁴⁹ Cutler himself had studied at the Royal Frederick-William University where he had taken two courses with the great classical scholar Ernst Curtius. Shortly after returning from Europe in 1889 he wrote an essay on the German educational system, later read at a faculty meeting, which praised their program for its emphasis on ancient and modern languages as well as the sciences. The German educational pyramid had as solid a base as it had a lofty peak; the elementary and high schools which gave a preparation for the university were justly renowned and it was this part of the structure that Cutler studied.

The German organization influenced his handling of the curriculum at Mount Hermon. There was a definite current of ideas in education that flowed in these years from Germany to the United States. President Eliot of Harvard in 1888 had urged American schools to study their German counterparts for methods that would strengthen and shorten their programs. Cutler tempered his own enthusiasm by pointing out, "There are other principles which we hope America never will copy, for the German system is by no means perfect though it undoubtedly heads the list of systematized educational movements."⁵⁰ The salient fact is that Henry Cutler realized the value to Mount Hermon of parts of the German plan.

Less systematized, and more akin, perhaps, to the American educational structure, was that of the British. The connection between Mount Hermon and England was a strong one. There had been a large English contingent at the school, brought there through the influence of Moody, and two of the cottages were called Manchester and London House for them. Moody's English friends had given the money for the two main dormitories, and half the required cost of the chapel. In the fall of 1900, Cutler took time off for a two months trip to England, hoping to study their schools at first hand, as well as to find likely English boys for Mount Hermon.

The largest share of his time he spent at Rugby. Harriet Ford had read Stanley's *Life of Arnold* ten years before, while Cutler was still teaching

at West Chester, and had written to him that she was inspired by the book and especially by Arnold's "consciousness of his high calling and of his personal responsibility for every pupil under his care."⁵¹ This last struck a sympathetic chord for was not the "responsibility for every pupil" a cornerstone of Cutler's educational thinking too? As he read the book, his admiration for the great English schoolmaster grew, and he found more points of affinity between his ideas and Arnold's. With his religious beliefs, Cutler was in close accord. Arnold had tried to make the end of the Rugby education Christian, by "presenting forcibly and directly . . . the practical effects which religion ought to have upon . . . daily life at school." Spiritually, Rugby was closer to Mount Hermon than any other school, and there were further similarities. Each school had approximately the same number of boys; both were located in the country, although Rugby was not as isolated as Mount Hermon; both maintained an integral relationship between studies and religion.

During the voyage home, Cutler reflected upon his trip and tried to outline some points to discuss with the faculty. The heads of dormitories, he suggested, need not necessarily live in, and perhaps it would be wise to use for this purpose the senior teachers who were living in homes on the school grounds. They could hold office hours in their dormitory each day, "when reports of officers or teachers are to be received and students interviewed."⁵² By thus increasing the number of teachers connected with the dormitories, he hoped to achieve closer individual care of each student, and to have the faculty give more time to the boys outside of the classroom.

There were other notes on running the daily life of the school, public posting, at the term's end, of the academic standing of each pupil and of those graduates who had attained distinction at college; the running of the school store; encouraging boys to collect specimens of flora and fauna. The largest section of his notes was devoted to the handling of the boys, and more especially to the problem of dismissal. D. L. Moody had always spurred Cutler to expel the students who were not getting what they should from the school. Only those should be allowed to remain, who were showing by their efforts that they appreciated the opportunity they were receiving. One of the heaviest tasks at the end of each term, was that of deciding which boys were not worthy of further help from Mount Hermon. Cutler found support for his own conviction in Arnold's words: "Till a man learn that the first, second, and third duty of a schoolmaster is to get rid of unpromising

subjects, a great public school will never be what it might be, and what it ought to be."⁵³ Also heavily underscored in Cutler's copy of Stanley's *Life*, was the further amplification that Arnold "freely exercised the right of sending away those who, even if they had not committed any flagrant evil, showed themselves unfit to make proper use of their privileges."⁵⁴

Arnold's methods, too, confirmed Cutler in his belief that the responsibility of the seniors for the running of the school should be increased, and that a senior should be admitted to the teachers' meetings. Another point he suggested for discussion by the faculty, was the assessing of extra work hours for such minor violations of the school rules and general conduct as late rising, being late to class or work, "neglect of preparation," leaving books about, and for such all-encompassing faults as, "misconduct, unfaithfulness, carelessness."⁵⁵ His brief English trip had been rewarding and refreshing and Cutler returned "brim full of new ideas and suggestions for improvements at Hermon."⁵⁶

In administering the school Henry Cutler was both efficient and self-effacing. Every Friday he met with the faculty to discuss "general business." The usual procedure on major subjects was, after a short discussion, to refer them to a standing faculty committee, or to a special committee. For example, when the question of initiating a Latin-Scientific Course was raised, "a motion [was] carried to the effect that the chair should appoint a committee to investigate the matter."⁵⁷ The resulting report would be debated before the faculty voted their decision. The control that Cutler had over the final outcome stemmed from his power of appointing the committees and his leadership during the discussion.

The committee system was expanded gradually during the first nine years that Cutler was principal. Where at first the committees were appointed for special and limited tasks and ended with the disposal of the specific problem, they soon became standing bodies, organized at the beginning of the school year and operating throughout it. By the fall of 1898 they had become such an integral part of the academic administration that a committee of three, appointed by Cutler, nominated members for eight standing committees. At that time these were: (1) Seniors and Discipline, (2) Elective Course, (3) Library, (4) Lectures, (5) Museum, (6) Chapel talks, (7) Athletics, (8) Prizes.

This system illustrates Cutler's methods. Not only did the entire faculty discuss all problems, but he did not allow his own opinions to silence those

of others, and often sought simply to lend direction. Moreover, the distribution of authority through committees gave each member a sense of participation. This feeling of common responsibility bound the staff together, and bore fruit in the high morale upon which the Harvard examiners had remarked. The committee system, besides promoting faculty interest, was also efficient and practical. The administrative machinery was kept to a minimum; in fact the school, which had an average enrollment of 340 during these years, was run with only the aid of a cashier and one secretary. The school could not afford extra clerical personnel, but this was a healthy lack, forcing more complete "gradations and assignments of responsibility and oversight."⁵⁸

No matter how capably he spread the job of supervision, the overall responsibility nevertheless was Cutler's, a fact the faculty never questioned. One of them wrote:

His power of administration equals his power of organization. He does what he plans. He meets exigencies, surmounts obstacles, correlates details, disciplines insubordination, gives counsel, and carries bold and far-reaching plans to success so quietly and unostentatiously that, as in the case of some great silent engine, you do not appreciate the power until you follow the belting and shafting.⁵⁹

Forty years later the same man recalled:

Mr. Cutler carried all this with no lost motion. He gave no sense of being hurried. No one was ever less official in bearing. He carried with him no assumption or suggestion of self-importance. I am not sure that he always let his right hand know what his left hand was doing—at least he did not advertise his methods.⁶⁰

One of the most powerful motivating forces of the school's life was the conviction that great things could be accomplished through effort even though the tools were inadequate. It was expressed by D. L. Moody in the phrase: "eating soup with a one-tined fork." Results were to be obtained through the whole-souled effort of the individual which in itself could overcome all obstacles. This spirit of simplicity, of doing the most with the least, was evident in the running of the school, and was strengthened by the experience of Cutler's own life and by the character of the student body.

In 1893 the *Hermonite* published a short biographical sketch of Henry Cutler which shows what the school felt he was giving to Mount Hermon. They could see that

he early learned the meaning of hard work on the home farm. In his boyhood days could be read the old story of faithfulness in little things, and of willingness of

spirit in the performance of disagreeable tasks, which always leave their impress on life and character.⁶¹

The author, after carefully emphasizing how intensely Mr. Cutler disliked having attention drawn to him, went on to say that his "story of a resolute, unyielding struggle" was so similar to the lives of the students that a simple account of it would "prove an inspiration to many to persevere in face of similar discouragements." What traits of character distinguished him?

They are the simple ones of courage, patience, perseverance, and faithfulness. These, combined with great physical strength and endurance, and with a simple unswerving faith in God, and reliance on His promises, have given to this quiet, unostentatious man a strength of character, and earnestness of purpose, which, of necessity, make loyalty to God, and rigid adherence to duty, above every consideration of praise and popularity.⁶²

Any doubts that Henry Cutler had harbored in the late summer of 1890 as to his ability to calm the waters troubled by Sawyer's sudden departure, or to run the school, must have been at least partially assuaged by this tribute.

At the end of his first decade at the head of the school, a former teacher, the Reverend G. Glenn Atkins, placed the success of Mount Hermon squarely upon Henry Cutler's shoulders, speaking of him as "the man without whom Mount Hermon would not be what it is today." Yet during these years D. L. Moody was still alive and took active interest in the school.

Mr. Cutler's loyalty to D. L. Moody's purpose and conception was and is intense and unswerving. But through it all he has been himself so creative and resourceful and clear-visioned that in the fabric of the school it would be hard to tell where the creative purpose of Mr. Moody ends and the conception of Henry F. Cutler begins. As touching the plans of his great leader his work has been no mosaic but a silent fusion.⁶³

It is doubly significant that such a strong statement should have been written of Cutler's accomplishments because, as Atkins described him in 1901:

Mr. Cutler possesses no instinct of self-advertisement, nor does he know the rudiments of the art. His self-effacement in his work is marked and constant. The most modest of men. . . . As a result of all this it is not best to trust one's first impressions.⁶⁴

Henry Cutler had accomplished far more than his original aim of giving unity to the school during his first ten years as principal. In his quiet, efficient, scholarly way he had given genuine leadership. Immediately setting

out to improve the caliber of the staff, he had, by his second year, more than doubled the number of college graduates on the faculty. His own high intellectual standards, added to his inquisitiveness, and hospitality to new ideas, inevitably reacted upon the other teachers. They caught his spirit and were kept on their educational toes. His academic interests were general, and he constantly furthered them by study. In most of the subjects taught at the school he had more than a beginner's knowledge, in languages he was a specialist. This breadth of information commanded the respect of his associates and equipped him to judge with greater certainty the various abilities of his teachers.

If his first objective was to improve the teaching staff, the second was to improve the curriculum. The major reform was the Elective Course, which was eventually to replace the other Courses. Finally, a bold move had been initiated for establishing a three-term system, putting the school in almost continuous session.

On December 26, 1899 D. L. Moody died. His passing marked the end of an era for the Northfield Schools. His influence was to live on, and to Henry Cutler fell the task of carrying out his ideals at Mount Hermon. In this short period the principles of Cutler's administration were laid down. During these nine years he and the school matured together. For both, it was a period characterized by gradual, natural growth and development. The changes that came were neither violent nor sudden. They were made as Henry Cutler liked: as the mature result of careful study, thoughtful discussion, and experienced advice.

HENRY CUTLER AND THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE SCHOOL

No one can write his real religious life with pen or pencil. It is written only in actions, and its seal is our character, not our orthodoxy. Whether we, our neighbours, or God, is the judge, absolutely the only value of our "religious" life to ourselves or to any one is what it fits us for and enables us to do. Creeds, when expressed only in words, clothes, or abnormal lives, are daily growing less acceptable as passports to Paradise. What my particular intellect can accept cannot commend me to God. His "well done" is only spoken to the man who "wills to do His will."

Wilfred T. Grenfell, *A Labrador Doctor* (Boston, 1919), 424

THE religious purpose of Mount Hermon was evangelical and non-sectarian in spirit.¹ D. L. Moody's hope was to inspire young men and women to spread the love of God and be an ennobling influence in their communities, rather than merely give *an education* to the financially handicapped. This purpose should extend beyond the classroom to the daily chapel services and prayer meetings, to Sabbath observance, to the Sunday morning Bible classes, and was moreover to be exhibited in the consecrated and zealous service of the teachers, in personal contacts with the students and by their own lives.

Moody always planned to be in Northfield for the opening days of the Schools, when 600 or 700 young people were gathered, eager for a new year, many with high resolves. It is impossible to do justice to the feeling of power, almost awe, which he conveyed to his audiences. According to Henry Cutler, "It seemed as if his personality was stamped upon every one. . . . He pleaded with men to abandon sin and serve the living God. Only a few resisted God's call through him."² From the first Sunday, the opportunity was always given for the boys to face and accept what was for many a new way of life.

The first response evoked in a student by this awakening was a practical one: the resolve to lead a better life, and thenceforth a much higher standard

of conduct was expected of him. " 'A tree is known by its fruit' and 'A good tree bringeth forth good fruit' are samples of . . . [Cutler's] favorite texts at chapel talks."³ And from Luke 12:48 he chose: "For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required."

How did Henry Cutler work to keep up the spirit of consecration to Christ's service? To understand his aims and achievements it is necessary to look to the spiritual impulse in his own life. During his early youth in Greenwich he received his Christian training first from his mother, and then from Mr. Blodgett, who also had helped to shape his secular education. There was no discernible point at which this instruction began, nor had his parents made any special effort to give it to him. As soon as he was old enough he was included in the family prayer meetings; on Sundays the Cutlers went to church in Greenwich Plain, which included Sabbath school classes; and in the evening were the neighborhood meetings. Worship and prayer were an accepted part of each day. Henry's religious beliefs, untroubled by theological arguments, rested on an uncritical reading of the Bible and on the great Christian truths which set forth everyday rules of conduct. The years at Amherst did not alter this aspect of his life, for the teachings of Julius R. Seelye differed little from those of Blodgett. If an occasional lecture on textual criticism or on church history revealed unorthodox religious views, they did not shake Henry's faith.

Not until he went to Mount Hermon in the fall of 1886 did he experience a real spiritual quickening, through the inspiration of D. L. Moody. Moody's view of the role of religion in opening the way to a life of greater usefulness, evoked an immediate response in Henry, who believed service to be the goal of education. What Moody preached was not new to him:

that the Bible was absolutely the word of God, that the Bible taught that man was originally sinful and had fallen from grace, that the Son of God had sacrificed himself to atone for our sins, and that by accepting the atonement of his blood and showing that acceptance in our lives we may escape hell and be assured of heaven.⁴

What was new was the thought of the boundless opportunity that lay before the man who had "caught that secret of the power of a life that is in touch with the Christ."⁵ Moody's ideas wrought a change in Henry Cutler's purpose. Now he knew he must bring the light and the hope of teaching such as Moody's into as many lives as possible. In his own way he became an evangelist. In Europe he made the difficult choice between teaching and the



DR. CUTLER, DWIGHT L. MOODY, MRS. WILLIAM R. MOODY,
MRS. DWIGHT L. MOODY

ministry on the basis that his greater usefulness lay in the former. The position of principal of Mount Hermon brought within his influence hundreds of young men each year, to whom he could impart "how a life can be changed by coming in contact with the Christ."⁶

Generally, his teaching assumed the form of chapel talks, which he gave two or three times a week each year. Sounding the religious theme of the life at Hermon, they were based on Bible texts, and the substance of many of them can be found carefully noted in the margin of Cutler's own copy. He had, when he first arrived at Mount Hermon, purchased an Oxford University Press Sunday School Teachers' edition, which he used for the rest of his life. The pages are not torn or marred, but the edges, continually fingered and turned, have worn away so that some of the marginal notes, though they are all in ink, are illegible. The binding silk has given away and many repairs have been skillfully made with stamp album stickers.

Cutler made several types of notations. One dealt with the choice of words used in the translation. A student of both Hebrew and Greek, he liked to compare the King James version with the original, as well as with Tyndale's translation. He was familiar with the Greek text, of which he owned a copy, and would remark, for example, that where in the King James version, Matthew 11:28, reads: "Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden and I will give you rest." the Greek, literally translated, ends: ". . . and I will rest you." There are many factual entries pointing out such things as the longest verse in the Bible, the middle verse, and Luther's favorite Psalm.⁷

These notations evidence the thoroughness with which he studied his Bible and his ever-curious interest in it. The most significant ones, however, are those from which he built his chapel talks, his interpretations and comments on the text. For him the Bible provided the answers to all man's problems. He read and reread, pondering and jotting down his thoughts. Beside the verse "Ye are the salt of the earth," (Mat. 5:13) he remarked tartly, "Some people like to be considered the salt of the earth without doing any of the salt's work." Next to John, Chapter 20:30, "and many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book," he wrote, "the larger part of Jesus' life He *lived* and did not *preach*." Beside "If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit," (Gal. 5:23) he commented, "Sometimes much easier to live in the Spirit than to walk in the Spirit. Conduct needs a conductor."

Cutler's religion was not imprisoned in theology or dogma. It was charac-

ter—the way you did things, how you played your games, how you treated others. As he often said, “we can best show our religion through the way we live.” In his talks to the boys he pointed out that the “application of Christian principles to their daily lives [was not] an impracticable vision.”⁸ He missed no opportunity to state what he believed were the practical effects of religion upon everything that man does.

“I will lift you up.”

This is a word you like to hear when you’re *down*. It sounds like the Gospel. But the “you” doesn’t mean just those who are down; it means everybody. So it’s for all. He’ll lift us all up along the way, and by and by even up to the gate of Heaven.⁹

The process of living a spiritual life was a continual effort to improve one’s standards. “The goal I attain today becomes the starting point of tomorrow.”¹⁰

To live a Christian life meant humble acceptance of God’s decrees, Cutler wrote: “A surrendered will is the greatest life we can live. . . . The highest feat of human life is to live in the will of God.” Far from preaching hell fire and damnation, he emphasized the omnipresence of God, His love and forgiveness, and that He is but waiting to be called upon to lift man up, to give him a new life. One of his few chapel talks that have been preserved is on this theme. He is speaking about Saul, and the text is from I Samuel 10:9:

“God gave him another heart.” You know I think that is what God wants to do to all of us, to give us another heart. It means here that the Spirit of God came upon him. He had come up to the place of obedience and “God gave him another heart.” These are God’s words over and over again. It is possible for us to get away from this miserable act of yielding to temptation. He will give to us another heart this morning. It is as I stated, the Spirit of God came upon him, and it is among us in this day. Is there anyone who wants to come this beautiful day and have God give him another heart? God has promised that we can get away from the difficulties that upset us, as this man did who obeyed, and God will give to each one of you this morning another heart, if you will let him do it.¹¹

Here is an evangelistic appeal, given in a few words, with the hope of breaking down the barriers that kept men from allowing God to help them.

One of Cutler’s favorite themes was that through God everything was made possible, that one had but to put faith in Him. This was especially appropriate for Mount Hermon, for many of the boys had suffered continuous discouragement in their early years and needed faith and courage to carry out the vision of a life of greater service. One example he used in his

talks was the passage from Matthew 6:30, "Wherefore if God so clothe the Grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall He not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?" His marginal comments show the direction of his argument: "means if he cares for those who cannot do these things, how *much more* for *those who* can."

Though Henry Cutler believed that man has an inherent tendency to sin, he rarely talked about it, emphasizing instead God's love and the possibility for salvation. He did not preach hell fire to persuade people to accept Christ's salvation, for to him this was the weakest ground on which to build a permanently altered life, and in addition, it lent itself to an emotional appeal that he abhorred. "Fear and faith cannot live together," he wrote, and at another time he quoted II Timothy 1:7 "For God hath not given us the spirit of fear; but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind." Beside this verse he noted that this was "Dr. Arnold's estimate of 3 characteristics of a good teacher." Cutler believed that man was always subject to temptations and that therefore he must be eternally vigilant in guarding himself against them. Even with the best intentions, however, we may find ourselves slipping, as he pointed out from a verse in the 101st Psalm: "I will behave myself wisely in a perfect way. O when wilt thou come unto me? I will walk within my house with a perfect heart." In the midst of his resolutions the Psalmist breaks forth with this cry because he found himself erring. Many of Cutler's talks deal with God's redemptive patience. It was not always easy to remain on the side of the angels. All of us at one time or another take the wrong path for short distances, but then it is all the sweeter to return to Christ.

It was typical of his presentation to emphasize a point by the repetition of a word, a letter, the use of a time relationship, or a continued activity, or opposites, of which the following are a few examples from his Bible:

The object of life: service.
 The sphere of life: my own generation.
 The secret of life: the will of God.

Our attitude—
 Watching for His appearing.
 Waiting for His Glory.
 Working in His stead.

Milestones

Past—I was chief of sinners. I Tim. 1:15.
 Present—I am a new creature in Christ Jesus. 2 Cor. 5:17.

Future—I shall be like Him. I John 3:2

In the meantime—I press toward the mark. Phil. 3:14.

To be miserable look within.

To be distracted look about.

To be happy look up.¹²

Cutler, however, was not a polished pulpit orator. A chronic throat condition, always aggravated when he spoke in public, caused him to clear his throat noisily and often during his short talks. He had other disturbing nervous mannerisms, folding, unfolding his hands, frequently shifting his glance, or staring out of the window as though he were thinking of what he should say. It is a great tribute that despite these habits the students for many years voted him the most popular chapel speaker. What he had to say and the way he expressed himself obscured and overcame any platform deficiencies.

Although he eschewed the stock phrases of evangelists, and avoided emotional religion, he accepted these traits in others. The more passionate appeals were not for him. In the end, Cutler's was the more lasting influence, and it is highly questionable whether any other approach would have been as successful over the long period during which he was at the head of the school, a period that saw a radical change in the attitude of the country toward religion. The 1890's were a decade when the whole nation was sensitive to religion, the 1920's a decade of lethargy. Henry Cutler's principalship spanned the gap between the two.

In his talks to the boys he struck directly at his point, speaking concisely, without ornamenting his sentences. At a service early in the term he was likely to say: "We are conducting this school on the principles of Christ and what he stood for. Those of you who believe as we do and who have determined to live a better life may let the whole school body know where you stand by rising."

From the simple chapel service, in which the whole school took part, stemmed the numerous other religious activities which made up the life of worship of the entire student body. In the Principal's Report of 1899 Cutler asked permission of the Trustees to set up a regular church organization for the new chapel. This was immediately granted, and boys and faculty of all denominations could join by presenting a certificate of membership from their own church or, if not belonging to any church, by a simple confession

of faith. Aside from providing one more bond of unity in the school, this organization gave the students training in church management: they were the deacons and filled all the church offices. Each morning and evening a period—the “silent time”—was set aside for individual worship. There were also independently organized meetings where small groups gathered together for prayer, and sometimes testimony. In the 1890's and early 1900's many such groups were active; their basis might be a whole dormitory, a corridor, a cottage or any other small unit. This practice lasted into the late twenties.

During the first twenty-five years that Cutler was principal, a vigorous school YMCA, run by the students under the jurisdictional veto of the faculty, quickened religious life. They held Bible and missionary classes, and sponsored voluntary Sunday evening meetings in the dormitories and cottages, with attendance averaging about half the membership of these houses. There were still other religious activities. The Christian Workers' Union met regularly on Sundays for prayer, conference, Bible study, and also conducted a campaign for personal Christian work. The Student Volunteer Band led a drive among the young men to interest them in Christian service in the foreign field. Students ran the Sunday worship in neighboring churches and taught Sabbath school in the country districts around Mount Hermon.

As a result of all this it was the exception when a young man was not touched by the strong evangelical spirit of the school. This was the work that Cutler actively forwarded in everything he did. Through all his speeches and reports he rings this note again and again. After a particularly successful term he reported:

We believe the year has been spiritually the best year we have ever had. Perhaps the very stress of circumstances made us hold fast to God. Surely the angels of God have encamped round about us day and night. The work of regeneration began in the fall term; very quietly the work went on; one after another came forward here and there in the meetings or in the rooms, or in the open air, until scores had accepted the Lord Jesus as their personal Savior, either for the first time or in reconsecration.¹⁸

He liked to use homely illustrations:

Sometimes it seems to me that this hillside here is like a student's desk, and those who come are like paper upon which is written the letters, call them the epistles,

and these men here our letters to be sent out as messages into the world. You have taken them far and wide and they have brought blessing and comfort like a gospel story, wherever our Mount Hermon loyal boys have gone.¹⁴

D. L. Moody's purpose was always in his mind:

He wished this hilltop to be a Mount of Transfiguration. . . . He wished the entire equipment to be used in the training of men for the service of God to mankind. . . . His ideal was to do the work and will of God. Mount Hermon exists to carry out his ideal.¹⁵

Cutler underestimated the lasting effect of his talks. He believed that the interest of each teacher in the life of individual students would go further in persuading them to live better lives. He felt that Jesus was talking to all teachers when after the crucifixion he returned to his eleven disciples "in a mountain" and bade them, "Go, ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you always, *even* unto the end of the world."¹⁶

Singleness of purpose among the faculty was achieved and maintained at an especially high level through the faculty prayer meetings held during Cutler's first twenty years as principal. While the group was still small enough, the business meetings were held each Friday in the living room of Cutler's cottage. The gatherings opened with a half hour of prayer, at which various masters led the devotions.¹⁷ The very act of kneeling together in the small room had a unifying influence. The teachers shared for a moment their humbleness before God, thus reaffirming a basis on which all men who believe in God are united. When the weekly business meetings were dropped in favor of monthly sessions, Cutler continued the Friday prayer gatherings on a voluntary basis, in order to maintain the religious ties which were so vital to the school's spiritual existence. Cutler's presence kept up the standards, and the level of attendance did not fall off until the twenties, by which time only a small number of the teachers were those who had been inspired by D. L. Moody and only a few others had experienced the religious revival of the early years of the twentieth century.

It must be stressed that Cutler did not take part in theological disputation. The only point of Fundamentalism that was given significant place in the school was the substitutionary atonement of Christ upon the Cross. This

was the cornerstone of conversion. It is conceivable, however, that even this factor would have been overlooked had it hindered a boy's changing his way of living to "count more for the cause of Christ." To Cutler the change was simple. He often likened it to stepping off one train and boarding another going in the opposite direction.

Cutler wanted to carry out Moody's ideals and pass them on to each succeeding generation of Hermon boys. His fault lay in failing to realize that Moody adapted his methods to changing conditions, whereas he tried to convey Moody's ideas by imposing upon the twentieth century the religious forms of the nineties. As a result, religion at Mount Hermon looked backwards rather than ahead. Not only Cutler himself, but many of the men he invited to talk in chapel, were more apt to hark back to the golden days of evangelism under Moody, than to apply religion to present day needs. These drawbacks do not alter the fact that Mount Hermon produced many mature Christians during Cutler's principalship.

It was not Cutler alone, but the framework within which he was forced to work, which brought about the lag. When he did try to adapt his religious program to the times, late though it was, he faced some determined opposition. The school received a large part of its financial support during all these years from thousands of small donors, who were actively interested in where Mount Hermon stood on the foremost doctrines of Fundamentalism: "the inerrancy of Scripture, the deity of Jesus, the substitutionary atonement, the physical resurrection, and the bodily return of Jesus to the earth."¹⁸ These were the same people who fought for a literal acceptance of the Genesis account of Creation, who distrusted Biblical criticism, and who opposed all ideas of the Modernists. Their vigilance hampered Cutler in running the religious life of the school, because the very existence of Mount Hermon depended largely upon their donations, a fact increasingly true as operating costs rose.

Since there were at Mount Hermon fundamentalists, who preached and taught their uncompromising beliefs, it was Cutler's task to steer the school through these dangerous straits, and have the final emphasis of religion rest upon Christian living rather than upon dogmas. It was a disconcerting tribute to his diplomacy that he occasionally received two letters within a few days of each other, one criticizing him for a too liberal attitude, and the other for being too reactionary.¹⁹ The pressure upon him to take a reaction-

ary course was at all times great, and had he yielded, it would have meant disaster for the school, whose influence would have then been placed on teaching the students to believe along confining lines.

Cutler was most interested in the spiritual influence of his Bible teachers. As long as they did not allow doctrinal beliefs to interfere with their effectiveness, their beliefs did not concern him. One of the most popular teachers in the history of the school was the Reverend J. East Harrison who came to Mount Hermon in 1908. Doctrinally he belonged to the early part of the nineteenth century; but he was not aggressive about this, being truly a man of God, whose constructive influence kindled in the boys something of the spiritual fire that consumed him. Cutler, recognizing this, kept him on the faculty as long as possible. When Harrison retired in 1929, Cutler, at the suggestion of the President of the Northfield Schools, Elliott Speer, engaged a young graduate of Mount Hermon to take over the Bible department, in order to shift its emphasis to more modern grounds. This move raised protests from some of the faculty, trustees, and alumni of the old school, who felt that Cutler was betraying Moody's purpose in abandoning fundamentalist teaching. Fundamentalist beliefs had met no competition on Hermon's hill. In the late twenties there was still a large number of boys who accepted the religious practices of Mount Hermon, even arising at five in the morning to hold prayer meetings. Often these were the men to whom the shock of modern religious ideas, when they left Hermon, was greatest, occasionally even causing them to lose their faith. The principal himself disliked radical moves and suffered the shift with some inward misgivings. He found comfort in the knowledge that D. L. Moody was never one to balk changes when he had adequate proof that conditions warranted them. The opposition that Cutler encountered came mostly from those who were so concerned with Moody's words that they failed to understand his spirit.

More significant than anything else in carrying out the aims of the school was Henry Cutler's own character. "The spiritual depth of his life and his utter dependence upon God in all the experiences which life can bring are the foundation and source of his unfailing strength."²⁰ For him the object of education was clearly stated in Isaiah 50:4: "The Lord God hath given me the tongue of the learned, that I should know how to speak a word in season to him that is weary."²¹ It was to open to young men the opportunities of a Christian life that he strove during his principalship.

The effect of Mount Hermon's religious life was not ephemeral. The

graduates have continued their active interest in Christian work. It was an exception when Cutler met an alumnus who was not engaged in some form of church work, as a Sunday school teacher or member of the church choir, or helping to run the local YMCA. The large yearly contributions of the alumni to Mount Hermon are tangible proof that they believe in the value of its training. During his forty-two years as principal, Cutler had continuously and effectively guided the spiritual life of Mount Hermon to inculcate in the minds and hearts of the students the vital role of worship in giving meaning and permanence to work and play and love, and lifting man beyond himself to serve great causes.²²

MOUNT HERMON

1900-1916

DURING the school year 1893-94, the Mount Hermon faculty studied with interest the report of the Committee of Ten, published by the National Educational Association, which advocated uniformity of instruction. "Every subject that is taught at all in the secondary school should be taught in the same way and to the same extent to each pupil so long as he pursues it, no matter what the probable destination of the pupil may be or at what point his education is to cease."¹ Though one of the report's objects was to improve the standards of instruction in each subject, the abilities, capacities, and needs of the students were almost completely ignored. The assumption was implicit that all children were equal in ability except as they differed in age. Methods of teaching had grown haphazard, and the resultant reaction was a radical swing toward standardization. The leaders and staunchest defenders of such over-simplification were the private secondary schools, where curriculum planning was based on the requirements for college entrance. The emphasis was not on the pupil as an individual, but on efficiency of administration.

For twenty or more years following the Committee of Ten's report, the thinking of the great majority of teachers attempting educational reform had as its starting point the individual course rather than the entire curriculum. Cutler, recognizing and approving of many of the Committee's recommendations, incorporated them in the Mount Hermon program. But the school's four Courses disturbed him because they failed to answer the needs of so many students. Such national figures as Charles W. Eliot, William T. Harris, Francis W. Parker, and John Dewey were seeking "flexibility, individualized instruction, more rapid entrance into the professions, and an enriched course of study based on child activity."² Cutler initiated the liberalization of his curriculum in 1894 by conditionally intro-

ducing the Elective Course, and in 1899 by organizing the school under a three-term system. During his first ten years as principal, it became increasingly apparent to him that he would have to work hard to see that the school's attention was sharply focused upon meeting the requirements of the individual student. The rapid growth of the school in the first decade of the twentieth century accentuated this problem, and to its solution he devoted much time and effort.

Since to Cutler the end of education was the formation of character, all the other objects were subservient to this.³ In the early years of the school, this purpose took care of itself, for the number of pupils was small enough for the Principal to spend more time studying their individual needs. But this became less practicable as the student body grew to more than 400 by 1898. Restricting the enrollment was never considered as a solution. To both Moody and Cutler, since Mount Hermon was the only school educating older boys, and applications were more than double the number of living spaces in the dormitories, it was of first importance to take in as many young men as possible.

Far from limiting the school's size, Cutler made every effort to enlarge it. That the chapel built during Moody's lifetime accommodated one thousand was tangible evidence of what he had in mind. Besides, he had told the faculty during his last year: "I expect to see a thousand students here within the next ten years."⁴ The three-term system was started partly to increase the number of admissions and to make fuller use of the available housing. With Moody's figure in mind, the new dining hall (West Hall), completed in 1909, was planned to seat more than 1000. In this same year Cutler, reporting to the Trustees, urged them to put up another large dormitory. He suggested further that temporary living quarters be made in Camp Hall "instead of allowing it to stand empty for a large part of the time. It would also give us an opportunity to try in a practical way the English system of dormitory life and prove whether it would be wise to erect buildings for the further accommodation of students in this way."⁵ The only reason he desired to enlarge Mount Hermon was his eagerness "to press forward into new fields and a larger territory of usefulness."⁶ The school should be opened not only to all those over the age of sixteen, but to the younger boys as well. The age limit was created to make room for the greatest possible number of those young men who Moody felt most needed the education Mount Hermon had to offer. It was not an indication that he opposed

teaching the younger boys, for it was part of his long-range plan to include them as soon as housing permitted. Cutler, who had heard him voice these ideas, agreed.

Henry Cutler developed his plan for Mount Hermon's curriculum over a period of fifteen years that saw the school double in size, from 316 boys in September 1897, to 630 in the fall term of 1912. In 1901 it had become the country's largest private secondary school in enrollment. In the calendar year 1913 the number reached 1032. Since there were no precedents for handling efficiently so large a group, the path along which Cutler led Mount Hermon had to be freshly broken. In addition, it should be realized that the school was itself an experiment, the whole concept behind it being new, and its economic base unsteady and impermanent. Four years after Moody's death Cutler wrote that "there has been a hesitancy born of the thought of watching the experiment for a time in order to see if the work was indeed built upon a sound foundation." Not until 1903 could the Principal write in his report:

We feel that the years of experiment are past, and that our faces are now set toward the realization of the purposes of the founder in making the School unique in its equipment for training men for usefulness in the ordinary walks of life as well as in the higher vocations.⁷

The feeling that the school's future was uncertain and the finances insecure, were important factors in determining the way Cutler handled its scholastic development.

He first indicated his concern for individualizing instruction when he wrote the Trustees in 1897:

Efforts are being made more and more to teach individual students and to plan for them their courses of reading in order to open avenues of thought and investigation which shall inspire their whole life and lead them into larger fields of usefulness.⁸

The Elective Course had extended possible combinations of subjects so as to fit personal needs more closely. Though only a start, it shows Cutler's awareness of the situation. The success of the Elective Course led to the elimination of the other Courses. At the same time the subjects were organized into departments, an arrangement which resulted from an increased faculty and an elective system. Though touched upon in the Harvard Report and accepted in practice by Cutler soon afterwards, it was

not until 1902 that it became a published fact, by which time the Principal's duties had grown to the point where it had become inefficient for him to direct the work in each subject. These two administrative improvements—the Elective Course and departmentalization—gave further evidence that increased size was breaking up the close family circle method of running Mount Hermon. They were important steps toward creating an effective plan for meeting the exigencies of the students.

We have been systematizing the work in our curriculum and differentiating the work of the several departments very carefully in order to be able to do for individual students more than we have. . . . This has become necessary with the increase in the number of students at the school.⁹

Perhaps the most pressing reason for liberalizing the curriculum was the character of the students to be educated. Their backgrounds and previous training, their age, their varied plans for the future, all spoke out against insistence on uniformity. In 1903, a year after the old Courses had been eliminated, he affirmed: "We have realized that our students were, from the very nature of the case, different from the students of many public and private schools. For this reason we have made this readjustment of the curriculum and good results are already apparent."¹⁰

One of the major problems facing all schools is that of the failing student. At Mount Hermon this perplexing question assumed greater significance and demanded closer attention than it would in other schools because of the heterogeneous character of the student body. Many who were trying to get through as rapidly as possible would take on more work than they could physically handle. Many, too, had to learn all over again how to study. Thus the problem of correct placement was immense, and from its very complexity forced the school continually to review the individual students' schedules. Originally the problem of failures had been discussed with the entire faculty, and care and thought and time were given to deciding "if students are well placed in their work and are getting what is best for them."¹¹ As Mount Hermon grew, however, this method became cumbersome and time-consuming. The whole faculty would spend "the evening . . . in looking over the schedules of some of the students and discussing their fitness for the work they [were] . . . taking."¹²

At about the same time it became apparent that Cutler could no longer advise each student in the choice of his courses. An early suggestion, made in 1904, was that a group of pupils should be assigned as advisees to each

teacher, who should see that they took the courses best suited to prepare them for the goal they had in mind. It was thought best, however, to place the function in the hands of especially designated teachers familiar with the demands of the colleges and technical schools. As a result an advisory committee was established. Cutler described it to the Trustees as follows:

Students are required early in their stay here to formulate their plans for study and submit their courses of study to the Elective Course Committee for approval. It is the purpose and wish of the faculty to understand each individual student and plan with him the best way to fit himself for his work in life.¹³

In order to supplement the work of the Elective Course Committee, the faculty adopted the advisory system a few years later. At a meeting in September of 1907 it "suggested that each teacher should have a certain number of the new students with whose history and present record he should become familiar," and the plan was adopted in June of the following year.¹⁴ Although initially intended for the new students, it soon came to embrace the entire school.

To secure a close relationship with each student a system of advisers has been introduced. Each student is assigned either by choice or by appointment to some one teacher whose duty it is to inform himself thoroughly about the student and to talk with him personally about his life here and his plans for the future. The arrangement of his course here and his studies term by term are also a part of the adviser's work.¹⁵

The procedure for supervising each student was further strengthened in 1911 by the introduction of special conferences for those who had fallen below the passing grade in their studies. As Cutler said:

Many of our students come to us with scant preparation even in the fundamentals of an education, while others have been out of school for a longer or shorter period. This makes it very difficult to place new students in the right classes at first, and so necessitates changes in their schedules from time to time. Responsibility for these changes must, of course, rest with the individual teachers. As the school has grown in numbers, it has become increasingly difficult to follow these changes, and do the best thing for each student. At the beginning of the winter term the teachers were requested to report to the office, at stated intervals, the names of any students new or old who were falling below a passing grade. One of the teachers, appointed to this work, then arranged an interview at the office and went over carefully the boy's entire schedule, consulted his teacher in many instances, and re-arranged his schedule if necessary. This work at the office was in no sense a substitute for the individual work of the teacher with the student. On

the other hand it was planned to supplement that work and make it more effective. The results have been most gratifying. Reports were sent to the office by the teachers on four different dates during the term. As a result of these reports slightly more than half of the boys in the entire school came to the office for at least one interview, about one third of these came for a second, more than one fifth for a third, and one ninth for a fourth interview. These consultations gave an excellent opportunity to know these students and learn about their purposes, and so to open up the way for sound advice as to their future. It seems certain too that they have had a wholesome influence upon the discipline of the school. Indeed it is probable that the best and most lasting result of the work can never be tabulated. Referring however, to the scholarship records, a comparison with five other terms shows that the number of marks below passing has been cut down to about one half the former average, proving in this way also the value of the work done.¹⁶

The influence of this continued effort of the teaching staff to search out the right answer to the needs of the students was carried over into instruction. The history department, under the direction of Horace H. Morse, in 1909 led the way with a change in its "arrangement of time and the method of instruction by personal interviews and conferences."¹⁷ In what better way could the abilities of each boy be discovered and fostered?

What stands out during this period is that Cutler never allowed the focus of the school to stray from the individual boy, and this remained his point of emphasis during his entire principalship.

The success of a school year depends upon what is done to enlarge the lives and possibilities of its students. . . . It is of course impossible to report on each individual student and yet the whole aim and work of the school centers on the student himself. Teachers are found and retained only as they may be of help to students. Buildings are erected and kept in order so that they may be of use to students. Devotion and thought and love combine to forward the interests of individual students. Money and friends and sympathy are sought within and without the school so that the work of instructing students may be carried on in the best way. The center of it all is the student. If we can only send out men one by one equipped in the best way for their work in life, the great aims and purposes of Mount Hermon School will be attained. It is to this end that buildings and equipment have been used, that teachers and helpers have served.¹⁸

Cutler studied Mount Hermon not only through daily observation but also with the help of statistics, carefully compiled, and covering every conceivable phase of school life. He had figures on the size of the faculty and of the student body, on the percentage of boys wholly self-supporting, and

on five other classifications of self-support down to those who earned none of their expenses. He kept track of the number who dropped out of school each term and their reasons for doing so. He had records of the variety of trades represented and the numbers in each, along with files on the ambitions of all the students, whether they intended going to college or not and what work they planned to take up when they left Mount Hermon or college.

Obviously the mere setting up of a system of statistics could not give the answers to how the school should be run. What lent them value was that Cutler was able to interpret them, and grasped the opportunities for improvement that they pointed out to him. Without the mental acuteness and sound judgment which he brought to them, the most comprehensive statistics would have been worthless.

Though the educational training was aimed generally at preparing young men for further study, in the 1890's less than a quarter of the students continued their education after they left. With the exception of 1898, not as many as eighty per cent of the graduating class went on to college until 1900. However, up to 1916, less than one in ten students graduated, this in spite of the fact that by 1910 four out of every five boys who entered planned to go on to college.¹⁹ Two things account for the discrepancy between these two sets of figures. Many boys wanting to go to college were financially unable to continue at school, while others were able to meet college entrance requirements without completing the requirements for graduation from Mount Hermon. Regardless of their intentions, a large percentage of those young men coming to Mount Hermon received there their last formal education.

Was the school giving the students the best possible training? Should the curriculum include courses more practical than the straight academic ones? These questions pressed on Cutler for an answer during the middle years of his principalship. The matter of offering vocational training in preparatory schools not only was not discussed at this time—it was not even considered. The aim of all other private secondary schools was to prepare their students for college, and those whom this did not fit were so few that their interests could be disregarded. That Cutler recognized the need so early provides added proof of his ability to discern basic educational problems. It was no chance discovery, nor was it intuitive on his part: it was a result of long and thoughtful study.

The high percentage of students leaving before graduation appeared to be, on the face of it, a compelling reason for inaugurating a program of industrial training. Early in 1901 the faculty discussed the adoption of a business course, but at this time it was not favored. The expenses inherent in such an addition were prohibitive, for it would have come at a time when Mount Hermon was going through a severe financial trial, reorganizing its collection of funds after the death of D. L. Moody. The cost, though forbidding, was not the sole factor in persuading Cutler to abandon further consideration of vocational training. Of much greater importance was that, "We have felt that we could best meet the needs of our students by giving them thorough training in grammar and secondary school studies."²⁰

What Cutler saw as the school's educational aim fitted the needs of the young men who went there. During the years 1890-1915 over sixty per cent had a trade and in some years more than fifty different trades were represented. These boys were not attending Mount Hermon to learn how to run a lathe, print a book, or blow glass, but to improve their English, to learn some mathematics and to find out about the history of their country. These educational foundations, taught in the preparatory department, provided either a starting point for further study in the school, or a firm foothold from which students could improve themselves in the trade they had temporarily left. Those who continued their work at Mount Hermon beyond the Preparatory Course more likely than not persevered through to graduation and college.

The largest loss of students is in or at the end of the first term. It is indicated that nearly one half of the students who remain three terms will go on to college or a higher institution of learning. The most important testing time seems to be the first term with the ratio of probability of further and higher education increasing in very regular order from that time on, the most marked change being noticed after the close of the third term.²¹

These factors reinforced Cutler's own judgment that the greatest influence spurring a man to go the furthest in his own chosen field of endeavor was a general education rather than a specific vocational one.

If his point of emphasis to the faculty was the importance of the individual student, the point he hammered home to his pupils was the value of a college education. Usually Cutler's first question to a new student was: "Where are you going to college?" This query often started men thinking about higher education who had never considered it. For boys who chose

bookkeeping as one of their courses he would say, "Bookkeeping doesn't lead very far in life." Then he would try to persuade them to take Latin or some other subject that would help prepare them for college. Cutler was at his best when giving students advice, for he had an uncanny ability to see just what they needed and he invariably made them look higher for their goals.²² When alumni returned at Thanksgiving time and other occasions, he usually urged them to talk to the whole school about some point of their college training.

I like to hear them [the graduates] tell of the possibilities that lie ahead of any Mount Hermon student who has the ambition and courage to keep on in his studies. Many a Hermon man dates his first impulse for a college education to Thanksgiving day at Mount Hermon.²³

Each student was made to feel that such an education was in the range of his capabilities, both financial and academic, and that it was necessary if he was to reach the peak of his value as a useful human being. There had to be strong practical arguments to make men in their twenties delay getting a job for four years of additional study. This was not a day when college was taken as a minimum educational requirement, as it generally is now.

At the same time that Cutler was considering the addition of business and industrial training to the school, he instituted, at W. R. Moody's suggestion, courses in agriculture, the first three beginning on January 1, 1904. These did not lead to a special diploma, and the high cost of initiating the business and industrial subjects was not a factor in their case. Already the large farm was an important part of Mount Hermon's economy. Its upkeep required many of the work hour jobs and it supplied most of the milk and many of the vegetables for the school dining room. Moreover, "field training in general farming was a part of the student program at Mount Hermon school from its very beginning in 1881. . . ."²⁴

In launching the new courses Cutler knew he could rely on the professional competence and enthusiasm of Harry Hayward, who had become head of the farm in 1902. A Mount Hermon graduate, Hayward had attended Cornell, studied abroad, taught in two agricultural colleges, and held the post of Assistant Chief of the Dairy Division of the United States Department of Agriculture. Cutler's own interest in farming was another reason for the innovation. To him it was as much of a profession as any other, and although it was generally being practiced without benefit of

advanced training, he believed that the best job would be done by that man who had continued agricultural study through college.

The first prospectus of the department stated:

The Agricultural course is designed, primarily, to help men who go from school back to the farm, although it is hoped that in many cases it may awaken a desire for a more extended course in college, and furnish preparation that would make a college course a greater benefit to the student.²⁵

Although Cutler was creating an outlet from the school that did not necessarily lead to college, he never slackened his efforts to interest young men in advanced training, no matter what their field of preparation.

The statistics of the Principal's Reports over the first twenty years of the Agricultural Course show that the proportion of students with earlier agricultural experience closely approximated the proportion expecting to take up farming as a lifework. For example, in the year 1915-1916, 14.5% out of a total of 532 pupils had farmed, while 17.4% planned upon it as a career (the largest number preparing for any one trade or profession). Of the seventy-nine boys graduated in that same year fifteen, again the largest single group, indicated their intention of going into agriculture. On the other hand, seventy of the seventy-nine planned on going to college. From the figures of those students who had completed the requirements for graduation, it is evident that the Agricultural Course was not a factor in cutting down the number of applicants for higher education. Several colleges accepted course credits in farming to satisfy their entrance requirements in science, and this gave the program great stimulus.

Until the end of World War I, the Agricultural Course remained relatively popular. In fact, by 1915 it had become so large that Cutler wrote in his Report: "Probably the greatest need at the present time is a well equipped agricultural building."²⁶ Those enrolled that year totaled seventy-eight out of a student body of 562. The main reason was the widespread and increasing interest in farming preceding and continuing through the war. As soon as the agricultural depression set in, the enrollment declined so abruptly that the department was disbanded. The Agricultural Course was a noble experiment for a private secondary school. In 1907, a reporter for the *Boston Evening Transcript* wrote that "so far as I know this is the only agricultural school in the country which is not aided by state or federal appropriations."²⁷ The program had filled a real need and had influenced many young men to continue their training through college.

The administrative organization of the school developed along the lines which Cutler set down during his first decade as principal. He continued to delegate authority through faculty committees. The increase in the number of both students and teachers, and the establishment of the Elective Course were accompanied by the creation of departments of instruction under the direction of what Cutler called "the strongest teachers possible."²⁸ These were generally the ones who had taught longest at the school, but Cutler based his selection on ability. The heads of the new departments enjoyed complete freedom of action; consequently they were held responsible for the work of their section and its success. For the imaginative and energetic teacher these were ideal conditions, both a challenge and an inspiration, and they proved a constant goad for the less able teacher. When the head of one department complained that another subject was demanding too much of his students' time, Cutler rejoined that it was incumbent upon the fault-finder to search out ways of compelling as much interest in his own subject.

With the growth of the faculty and the non-centralized housing, it became increasingly difficult for a number of the teachers to attend the weekly meetings during the winter months, and the business transacted proved too little and too diffuse to require the attention of the entire staff at one time. In 1904 Hayward suggested that "the business of faculty meetings be transacted through committees with a general meeting once a month," and in 1906 Horace Morse made a similar suggestion.²⁹ At first Cutler was reluctant to make any change because of the harmonious life he felt frequent meetings engendered, but admittedly a modification of the older system had to be made, and the problem was how to achieve the same close relationship by more practicable means. In the spring of 1908 the step was taken. A weakening of one of the strongest ties that held the teachers together had begun, but the very growth of the school had made this inevitable.

Logically accompanying this change was the ultimate development of the committee system into the commanding place in the administration. To the Executive Committee, composed of Cutler and the heads of the different departments, were referred "all questions determining the policy of the school, and questions of administration and discipline."³⁰ This group was the central administrative body for the remaining years of Cutler's principalship. Although the final decision rested with him, he seldom found it necessary to interfere. Occasionally there would be items not within the Committee's sphere of authority, usually matters that had been settled by

William R. Moody or the Trustees. When the Northfield and Mount Hermon Schools were merged in 1912 D. L. Moody's son had been elected President of the joint Board of Trustees. Once action had been taken by the Board, Cutler abided loyally by it. "Will has decided that," he would say.

Although Cutler generally made use of the advice of the Executive Committee, and of the whole faculty in its monthly meetings, he also availed himself upon occasion of the help and judgment of a smaller group of men. Of these the most important, until his departure from the school in 1912 to head the Northfield Seminary, was Charles E. Dickerson. A Lehigh graduate, he had come to Mount Hermon in 1889, and as teacher of science he showed so much promise that at the end of his first year he was made Cutler's assistant and vice-principal. A good organizer, in addition to his administrative duties he raised the caliber of instruction in science to such a high level that the head of the science department of Lehigh asked him to collaborate in writing a science textbook. To him fell the responsibility of running the school during the Principal's absences, and as evidence of his success he was later made Principal of the Seminary.

Among the others close to Cutler were James McConaughy, head of the Bible department; George McMillan, Superintendent of Work and the school's buyer; and Richard L. Watson, Manager of West Hall, the dining room. All these had known D. L. Moody, and the last two were Mount Hermon graduates. That McMillan and Watson should have taken a leading part in the everyday life of the school is a marked example of the uniqueness of Mount Hermon. Neither man was a teaching member of the faculty, but the work program, in which they held such important positions, was in its own way as vital a part of the Mount Hermon education as the classroom. In the exercise of their jobs they had as much, and for the most part a good deal more, contact with students than the rest of the faculty. Moreover, since the ethical basis of manual labor was of greater importance than the economic one, the relationship of the boys to the two men was of equal dignity to the relationship of teacher and students.

L. L. Norton, head of the mathematics department and vice-principal of the school in 1914, and L. L. Drury, teacher of history and Alumni secretary, also came to wield a good deal of influence. It must, however, be emphasized that no single man or group of men exercised any lasting sway over Cutler in the administration of Mount Hermon, for the Principal made his own decisions. It was, however, natural for him to seek advice from those

who had given the longest service to the school, and especially those who had known D. L. Moody. Cutler did not permit himself close association with the other teachers, although many of them believed he would have liked it. It was difficult to get to know him, and some probably never did. The men with whom he was on most familiar terms were those with whom he played games, especially golf. He would throw himself into the contest with all his strength, and in the give and take of the match reveal all the warmth and humor and kindness of his character.

In describing the administration of Mount Hermon in 1916, Stephen Stark, head of the department of classics, wrote: "Here [Holbrook Hall, the administration building], the center of all, is the principal's office, and here Cutler presides day by day, exhibiting marvelous sagacity in handling an immense correspondence, and dealing personally with hundreds of visitors, parents, and students."³¹ He still continued to run this, the largest private preparatory school in the country, with a minimum of secretarial help, notably the skillful, loyal, and indefatigable services of Mary J. Miller, the registrar, and Martha M. Ladd, his personal secretary. Miss Miller, on whom fell the spade work of admissions, was extraordinarily efficient and had a sixth sense for knowing just what Cutler wanted. To assist her she had two students who, spending their work hours with her, received a rigorous training in the paper work of the job, and were then held to the highest standards of execution. In appearance she was rather austere, but her apprentices found the training and attitude toward work that she instilled invaluable in later life.

Of greatest moment to the school were the policies laid down by Cutler to govern admission of students. The most weighty consideration, and the determining one in the end, was the principle of limiting Mount Hermon to "only those who must work their way in securing an education."³² Though successful in this, Cutler still was not satisfied he was doing all possible to help those who most needed an education to get one. Many could not afford to come because they were unable to pay the tuition, room and board of fifty dollars a term, and it was partly to remedy this that Cutler inaugurated the three-term system, making it easier to alternate months of paid work with periods of study. A more practical aid was employment during actual term time enabling the student to earn enough to defray his tuition. At first this was possible only during the summer when there was a greater demand

for farm labor, but by the year 1903-1904 paid jobs were provided the needy during the fall and winter terms. Cutler could report:

By arrangement of terms now it seems as if no young man who really needs an education need be debarred. We are able to write encouragingly to every young man who applies here provided his character is good. . . . By a re-arrangement of the work there are many more opportunities for working one's way than ever before. We have greatly reduced the number of outside paid workers and have arranged our departments of work so they are carefully supervised and thus are in a position to utilize student help to the best advantage.³³

The problem of health gave Cutler great difficulty during his first years as principal. In the fall term there were seldom any outbreaks of contagious diseases because, once the students had arrived in good physical condition, their life at the school was healthy and isolated. The winter term, however, was often plagued with sickness, sometimes with epidemics of scarlet fever "which . . . interfered seriously with school work."³⁴ These diseases were brought to the school by boys returning for the winter term. The health question assumed such proportions, that in 1903 Cutler had an alumnus, Dr. A. Wilson Atwood, a recent graduate of the University of Michigan Medical School, come to Mount Hermon as resident physician. Cutler hoped that he could discover the causes of the epidemics and formulate health regulations to lessen their severity and perhaps eliminate them. This Dr. Atwood did during his four-year stay. Besides maintaining office hours in all the dormitories, he arranged and executed a rigid system of examining the boys upon arrival at the school, and gave "special attention . . . to the careful inspection of rooms and to the care of the dormitories and recitation rooms."³⁵ When Dr. Atwood left, Cutler was unable to secure another resident physician to take his place, but such rapid strides had been made in improving the health structure of the school that serious problems never arose again.

In 1894 a proposal to start Greek letter societies met faculty opposition. Instead, literary societies were founded, composed of young men with common intellectual or vocational interests or ideals. While at Amherst, Cutler had belonged to two undergraduate organizations, the Alexandrian and the Hitchcock Society, and because he had found both entertaining and helpful, he wished to initiate something of the kind at Mount Hermon. To supplement the work of the English department, the school was originally divided into so-called "Rhetorical groups," which afforded the boys a weekly op-

portunity to practice public speaking. As these were not especially successful, in the fall of 1892 four societies were formed in order "to arouse greater interest and enthusiasm in public oratorical, argumentative, and rhetorical work."³⁶ As with the groups, every student was expected to belong to one of them. During the same year Atkins founded a Historical Society as an adjunct to the history department.

Cutler fostered these societies because he felt that they were vital to the intellectual and social life of Mount Hermon. They failed for the same reasons that similar organizations had failed in the early days of Amherst. It was an admirable idea to include every student, but in practice it was not successful, for the membership was too large and the interests too divergent. They were allowed to die out, and in their place, over a period of twenty years, seven societies were organized by the students with faculty backing.³⁷ Their numbers were limited (generally to thirty), and their purposes were varied, although confined mostly to literary and vocal expression. Meeting weekly, they afforded "excellent opportunities for training in public speaking and debating." With about 175 belonging, they embraced a third of the school; the boy was exceptional who did not join one before graduating. Besides supplementing the intellectual life of the school they provided a valuable social outlet. Teachers, chosen members, were able with little effort to guide their activities so as to make them a positive and beneficial influence upon the school as a whole.

The program of athletics bore the stamp of both D. L. Moody and Henry Cutler and its strong and weak points can be best understood through them. Neither man had had athletic training as we understand it today. There was no regular schedule of sports when Cutler was first a teacher at Mount Hermon in the year 1886-87, and when he returned in 1890 he found few changes. With thirteen and a half hours a week given over to hard physical labor during work period, little time remained for play. Athletics were not mentioned in Cutler's reports to the trustees until 1896, and although this may indicate its relative unimportance in his mind it does not give the whole picture. The students themselves, with the assistance of a faculty member, organized and ran an athletic association, and school teams competed with the neighboring high schools and preparatory schools. In 1893 Mount Hermon even played Williams College in football. On another occasion Cutler accompanied the football team and "in a pinch, went in as a substitute because there were too few men left to keep the game going. 'Doc' did well,

too."³⁸ All the teams proved exceptionally successful thanks partly to the age and maturity of the students.

The difficulties involved in sending teams to play other schools were acute enough to make Cutler, soon after he arrived at Mount Hermon, reconsider the advisability of interscholastic contests. In the spring of 1892 the teachers, after discussing the problem, left the final decision to Cutler. During the fall of 1894 the faculty made a study of football at Mount Hermon to determine the value of interscholastic competition, and "the influence of foot-ball upon the school in general." A few weeks later in January, the teachers voted unanimously that "no competitive games of base-ball shall be played with outside schools in the spring term of 1895."³⁹ In the following fall they outlawed football and set up a committee to consider the future of athletics.

The unique character of Mount Hermon complicated an otherwise straightforward situation. As the boys had little money, they could not be called upon to join in a program that would tax their pocketbooks. For much the same reason they could not be expected to play a sport that would make serious inroads upon their time. On the other hand, the school could not sanction an athletic schedule that would raise the cost of education. It met a large portion of its operating expenses from yearly gifts which came mostly in small donations from people who were sacrificing to give. These donors could not be expected to help support any activity that was not absolutely necessary.

Accordingly, D. L. Moody, because of the opinions of the majority of the teachers, and Cutler as well as himself, decided in 1897 to abolish interscholastic athletics. This was not, as it is sometimes pictured, a sudden decision. Student opposition was vigorous and outspoken, and in the final hearing a teacher forcefully presented their views to Moody. The question of outside athletics, settled at this time, remained settled for the rest of Cutler's principalship. His concurrence with Moody's decision was strengthened rather than shaken by time. Many graduates in later years tried to influence him to reintroduce the interscholastic program, but they were unsuccessful, as were the physical education directors who on different occasions tried to persuade him to reconsider the decision in the light of changed conditions. On this point he was adamant.

An intramural program was immediately initiated. The school was divided for athletic purposes into dormitory groups, each organizing its own teams, supplying its own student coaches, and governing its own athletic

affairs. The success of the new plan was almost immediate. Interest and competitive spirit were high, with more than three times as many boys taking part. In 1899 Cutler wrote:

The wisdom of the decision is very apparent and is already abundantly proven. There never has been so much interest as this year in baseball, running, jumping and other field athletics. The item of expense is practically eliminated, objectionable visitors do not come here and there is no interference with work.⁴⁰

The arrangement proved effective in all sports except football where the difficulty was not in the plan but the execution. In the late nineties and early nineteen hundreds, this game was becoming steadily more dangerous, and the increase of serious accidents gave it a bad name, creating a clamor to abolish it. Cutler shared this attitude, refusing to allow his sons to play. After a particularly disastrous season he banned football, and for a year the boys played Rugby in its stead. This move coincided with a season of many college football injuries which, by forcing changes in the rules, loosened up the game and made possible a more open style of play. When this proved successful in lowering the number and severity of accidents, and when Cutler was convinced of this by the faculty athletic committee, football was reintroduced.

From 1900 on, Cutler's reports stressed the need for a well-equipped gymnasium, a deficiency especially felt during the long winter months.⁴¹ A new gym was given to the school and completed by the fall of 1910. In order to make the fullest use of its facilities, and to organize an integrated physical education program, Cutler chose W. S. Yeager to head a new department. Under his direction the athletic program began to take shape. A basic physical training course, added to the sports schedule, guaranteed that all the students, no matter what their ability, would take part in some form of exercise each week. Before graduating from Mount Hermon, a boy must complete two years of physical education which consisted of swimming, gymnastics, calisthenics, and apparatus exercises twice a week.

From the very beginning of Mount Hermon the question of financing its yearly operation had been one of exceeding difficulty, a fact not fully recognized until the death of D. L. Moody, who had a genius for raising money. His solid presence inspired confidence, and the directness of his appeals, fortified with concise and forceful statements—often emphasizing the human dividends derived from an "investment" in the school—were immensely

successful. But even with such a man, Mount Hermon had no easy time balancing its budget. Cutler was never certain that he would have enough money to meet all the school bills; the only financial balance was faith that money would be forthcoming. In March, 1896, he wrote to his wife, who was in Wellesley Hills, "I am not sure that I can send the money. I shall have to borrow the money to let Mrs. Gleason have thirty dollars as there is absolutely no money in the cashier's office and no deposits in the bank."⁴² That meant no school deposits. Cutler took his own salary only after the other bills were paid, and it rarely came at any regular time or in regular amounts. Sometimes he received as little as two dollars.

Since his task was to run Mount Hermon as economically as possible, it cannot be overemphasized that this was often a vital factor in decisions affecting the school's management. He fought each year to keep the cost of a Mount Hermon education down to the one hundred dollars that Moody had set in 1881. He realized that any rise, no matter how slight, would radically reduce the number of young men who could afford to come. It is evident that this policy of stringent economy reacted upon such matters as the hiring of teachers and the planning of an athletic program.

When Moody died, many people connected with the school gravely doubted whether it could subsist, since it had depended almost entirely upon his money-raising ability. Tuition fees met less than half the expenses and most of the rest had to be raised by yearly contributions. When asked who would take care of the school when he was gone, D. L. Moody always replied: the graduates. He believed that, given twenty years, Mount Hermon would have "a body of men out in the world" who could shoulder the burden. Though he did not overestimate the loyalty and generosity of Mount Hermon men, it was the continuous labor of his son, W. R. Moody, that made possible the school's existence and continued growth. With selfless devotion to the ideals and work of his father, he raised with the help of the alumni the necessary money.

A vital part of the fund-raising activity was carried on at Mount Hermon. In 1900 the Alumni Association was expanded to include all former students, and in 1902 L. L. Drury, who taught history at the school, became its secretary. By living and working at Mount Hermon he was able to bind the school and its graduates more closely together. An *Alumni Quarterly* was started in the same year, and in 1903 the Dwight L. Moody Running Expense Fund was inaugurated. Its aim was to collect money annually from

the alumni to pay any school expenses not covered by tuitions and income from endowment. The alumni proved so generous in their support that not only was doubt of the school's continued existence eliminated, but the tuition was not forced up until 1913.

As a school we stand in the very forefront in the contributions made by the old students. Only recently we have been named by other colleges and schools as an example worthy of emulation in the matter of expressing loyalty through contributions to the running expenses of the school.⁴³

"The greatest need now is a larger endowment," Cutler continually insisted in his reports to the trustees.⁴⁴ Though not averse to the idea of the Running Expense Fund, he disliked putting an unending task of such proportions upon W. R. Moody and the alumni. Moreover, he felt the Fund should not be called upon to carry so much of the financial load.⁴⁵

Cutler's part in all this was, first, to keep operating costs as low as possible while maintaining the quality of education at the highest level, and secondly, to bring the alumni to a closer understanding of the problems of the school and what it was doing, actually tightening the bonds of the "Hermon family." This he did mainly by talking before Mount Hermon Alumni clubs and at the quinquennial reunions of the founding of the school, which started with the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary in 1906.

The years of the middle period of Cutler's principalship were ones in which the ideas and methods of running the school were crystallized. Perhaps his greatest and most lasting contribution was the focusing of all the forces of Mount Hermon upon meeting the needs of the individual boy. Beyond this he tried to give the students a vision of larger usefulness through a college education, and the confidence that it was within their reach. This two-fold purpose became a part of the life of Mount Hermon, and gave a distinctiveness to its administration that was undeniably Cutler's.

AT HOME AND ABROAD

*So may the doomed time build up in me
A thousand graces which shall thus be thine,
So may my love and longing hallowed be
And thy dear thought an influence divine.¹*

JUST before Henry Cutler's departure for Europe in June, 1887, Harriet Ford came across a poem, concluding with the above verse, and expressing her feeling of uselessness and lack of direction in the first days of their separation. Their courtship and perfect marriage became one of the legends of Mount Hermon, for their love grew with the years and the beauty of their life together was an example and a penetrating influence. The qualities of mind and spirit that they brought to their marriage strengthened each of them.

Cutler leaned heavily on his wife. Harriet Ford's influence upon him cannot be overemphasized, although since their interests, ideals, and hopes were similar, its effect was usually to reinforce his own traits of character. Both were scholars with an especial propensity for language study. Each was kept constantly alert by an insatiable thirst for knowledge. To both, every hour of the day was an opportunity for learning, and everyone they met had something to teach them, for learning was sometimes only a matter of being humble enough to listen attentively to your neighbor. Once Cutler fell to chatting with the local junk dealer, and discovered that the man could speak and read Hebrew. Delightedly, he seized the opportunity to practice conversing with him.

Both Henry and Harriet Cutler had as their dominant characteristic an overwhelming desire to be of service to other people, to consecrate their energies and abilities to Christ and through Him to their life work. The Cutlers were a perfect combination for Mount Hermon. Harriet Ford had

come to the school barely three years after it had been founded and had a large share in establishing its standards of scholarship. Not only did she have the complete confidence of D. L. Moody, but equally important she was a lasting influence upon the students. Like her husband she was physically active, "quick with her eyes, quick with her tongue and quick in her movements," and of a happy disposition.² She enjoyed humorous banter and joking. Much more outgoing than Henry, she did a great deal, during their early years at Mount Hermon, to draw the faculty into a firm and close relationship, and was often able to soften his abrupt and less eloquent expressions. Though tactful, she never shied away from driving straight to the heart of a subject.

At the time of their arrival, Mount Hermon was still an experiment. It had little financial permanence, and ran on the faith that what was being done was of certain value. Cutler's salary as Principal was pitifully low during the period when he most needed money to care for his children, and at the end of thirty-five years he still received only \$4,000 besides his house.

During the first ten years of their married life the Cutlers had seven children, four boys and three girls, and it was against the background of their upbringing that many of Cutler's traits of character stand out. Just as during his own youth in Greenwich, each child had his daily chores upon which the household depended. As the children grew older these jobs increased in responsibility, and were integrated with their schedule of study. With college ahead for seven children, the Cutlers lived frugally. They raised their own fruit and vegetables, and canned great quantities, together with blueberries and blackberries which grew wild on the hillsides about Hermon. Cutler was a firm believer in the value of manual labor and, during at least one summer vacation, each boy served an apprenticeship in a trade, painting, farming, or in the local bakery. The family life was close and active. The Cutlers rose early and were at breakfast by seven. Each meal was preceded by the blessing, either repeated by the entire family, or given by one of the children. Immediately after breakfast came "devotionals" at which Cutler would read passages from the Bible, often having them repeat after him and memorize the most beautiful or thought-provoking verses. On Sunday morning, when there was more free time, there would be hymns as well. But the children remember most clearly the short prayer with which their father closed each service. "I am sure if anyone

could have heard . . . [his] prayers . . . , that person would have been deeply impressed with the simplicity and yet profoundness of thought and word. [He] always was at his best when praying, whether at home with his family, the students at the chapel, or at church before large audiences. To me that was the surest proof of his faith in God.”²

Cutler tremendously enjoyed his children, and his free time, though rare, was usually devoted to them. As soon as they were old enough to play tennis, hockey, and baseball, he joined them and took special delight in matching his skill with theirs. Even in hockey, a game at which his sons excelled, he was able to keep up with them until they went to college. Though his style of play might be unorthodox, his competitive spirit more than made up for it. When he could not glide fast enough on his skates he would simply break into a run. He played a steady and canny game of tennis and his golf game, never spectacular, was unerringly accurate.

Each Sunday was a special occasion because Cutler was able to spend much of his time with his family. Before church he would line them up on the basement stairs and polish their shoes, remarking that they might not have the fanciest clothes, but they could boast the shiniest footwear. After the service the family attended Sunday school. On fine afternoons they took walks in the neighboring countryside, preferably along the banks of the Connecticut. In cold or stormy weather they would gather in the living room and play music, Cutler joining them with his violin. He believed that nothing bound a family together better than sharing music, and each child played at least one instrument.

The feast days of the year, Christmas, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving, birthdays, he continued to celebrate as his own mother and father had done: joyfully, but with due respect for the meaning of each event. Every holiday had its special customs. The day before Christmas Cutler led the children into the woods where they selected and cut down an evergreen. As soon as they reached the house, it disappeared, not to be seen again until fully adorned on Christmas morning.

His own upbringing was not without its influence on that of his children. Adaline Cutler had kept her son on a tight rein. She had definite ideas of how he should conduct himself and never hesitated to express them. Although Daniel Smith's equally decided opinions were seldom made vocal, Cutler found that in later life he invariably remembered his father's reactions to situations rather than his mother's words. This so impressed

itself upon him that in the bringing up of his own children he avoided giving them advice. Although he never expressly stated it, he believed that words alone were useless, and that his children should form their own rules of conduct by experience, and by the example of their parents. Since he expected them to do the right thing in the end, he seldom said "Don't." Their ethical training came through their study of the Bible, for they were to shape their actions according to the principles of Christ's life. One thing he did emphasize to them: the basic importance to their lives of always telling the truth. Though he was able to forgive many faults, he always took direct action when any of them told a lie. If occasionally a serious offense provoked a caning, no lecture ever accompanied it. When the children were quite young and one of them misbehaved at table, Cutler "would look at them and motion toward the corner. The guilty one would get up, face the wall, and when later . . . he would call him back, everything would go on as if nothing had happened. It seemed more of a routine than a punishment."⁴

Though he was full of affection for his children, a New England reserve prevented him from expressing it, except in actions. Any display of emotion was extremely difficult for him, and it was not until they were grown and had homes of their own that his reserve toward them was somewhat lifted. Even praise he bestowed rarely. The children were expected to do excellently whatever task was given them. Too frequent praise, Cutler felt, would only tend to make them satisfied with mediocre performance.

While his children were at college, Cutler often wrote to them suggesting—it was never more forcible than that—certain guiding principles he hoped they would hold to as he had. None of them were new to his family for they had been eloquently expressed before, in the day to day living of the Cutler household. "Get along with as little as you can and be comfortable," he wrote to a son just entering college.⁵ Cutler himself had been compelled to live an austere life and though he never advocated equal hardship for others, he felt that there was a certain relation between simple living and high ideals. Getting along with as little as possible meant merely the elimination of self-indulgence, and added opportunity to do for others.

To one daughter he wrote of a subject always dear to his heart: making each minute count. "You must learn how to utilize your time and use it to advantage."⁶ Liberal with his encouragement when his children were facing any difficulty, he echoed in each comforting assurance his own

earlier doubts and cares. "You must not get discouraged as that makes it still harder to study. You can hardly tell in this short time how you are to come out."⁷ To another daughter trying to choose a job, he outlined what he believed to be the most important considerations: ". . . the first . . . is to get good experience under favorable auspices and always with the idea of rendering service that will be helpful. The second the money you can earn."⁸

Twice Cutler took his family to an island in Maine for a summer month; another time they went to Nova Scotia, and on these trips they were free from school cares and could revel in being together without outside demands. Cutler had no particular desire to leave Mount Hermon in the summer with its warm green beauty, the stately vista of the Connecticut valley and the view of faraway Monadnock, and when the children were sick during most of one visit to Maine, he was settled in his conviction that they should not range so far. Temporarily they rented a rough cabin on Spofford Lake, nearby in New Hampshire.

An attack of pneumonia at the age of ten had left Harriet Ford with a weak heart for life. So successfully did she husband her energy that during her first years of teaching she was seldom plagued with sickness, and Mr. Sawyer reported that "she was never absent a school day while I was there."⁹ But the strain of bearing six children in six years aggravated an already weakened heart, and she was soon forced to take regular periods of rest away from the strenuous life that her family entailed, either with her sister in Wellesley Hills, or again by remaining behind on Heron Island a month or so after her husband and children had left. The fall of 1901 she spent in Bernardston, but during the following year and a half, by leading the life of a semi-invalid (Cutler carried her up and down stairs) she was able to stay at home and direct the household.

Although nothing could mar their happiness, during the last three years of their married life Harriet Ford's increasing weakness hung like a threatening cloud over them, and must have laid a particularly heavy strain on her husband, yet he never showed it outwardly. When in May of 1903 she suffered another heart attack, she had too little resistance left to meet its ravages. Growing steadily weaker as other complications set in, she began to suffer acutely. So long had she been a semi-invalid that neither Cutler nor, apparently, the doctors realized at first how critical was her condition. By May 25th, however, he was writing to his sister-in-law:

The heart action is still slow and rather weak. We feel of course that her condition is serious. I wish I could write you that she is better but when I come to be with her and realize how weak she is my hope lessens. . . . It is hard to have her suffer. She is so dear to us. She does not talk very much but she wants to. She speaks of you all and of her father. She talks of the children and sometimes it is too much for her and she cries. I am not very brave myself . . . along that line.¹⁰

On the 28th she seemed a little better, but from then on she sank rapidly until her death on the first day of June.

Not only had they shared joyously the happiness and difficulties of their lives, but Cutler had constantly relied upon his wife for advice and criticism in running the school. For days after her death, when called at home concerning a school problem, he involuntarily placed his hand over the mouthpiece of the telephone and looked about to consult her. They were so much a part of each other that it was as if a lifegiving source of his own power had died.

The teachers, students, and members of his family, did not spare themselves in trying to make the days following Harriet Ford's passing as easy for Cutler as possible, but no amount of kindness and thoughtfulness could fill the "great vacant place." Even in the midst of his family he felt an "unspeakable" loneliness. The house, though full of children, "seems empty in the evening time and I hear as now only the ticking of the clock."¹¹ It was only his faith in God that gave him consolation; it was his trust in "Him to do all things well" that turned his thought away from his loneliness to deep thankfulness for the thirteen wonderful years that they had had together. "God has wonderfully comforted me in the midst of it all and I have much to be thankful for. . . . These have been happy years. To be in the company and companionship of one so fair and pure and noble—so sweet to look upon and so perfect in the art of living—has been well worth a lifetime." Little by little he found peace: "My heart is full of longing for her but I am not unhappy."¹²

The trustees of the school, knowing that Cutler needed a rest and a change of surroundings, granted him a three months leave of absence.¹³ Though at first the thought did not appeal to him, at home "so much . . . reminds me of her that I feel it is best for me to get away." Gradually he accepted the idea of a complete break from all the associations and responsibilities that they had so intimately shared, and with the help of the Bradfords he rapidly matured plans for his absence. Unwilling to leave all seven

children in the care of even the most capable housekeeper, he decided to take with him to France his two oldest, Conrad and Hal, now twelve and eleven respectively, and to leave them at the end of the summer at Glay, in the care of his old friend and director of the school, M. Macler. The oldest daughter, Christine, was to stay with the Bradfords, leaving four children, a large but at least manageable handful, with the housekeeper. The last days of June Cutler spent in Greenwich with his parents, returning to Mount Hermon for only a day before going to Boston to arrange for his passage to Europe. Back at the school in time for the arrival of the "old" boys for reunion, he stayed on until July 15, sailing from Boston the following day.

On his thirteenth wedding anniversary, just two days before the ship arrived in Liverpool, he wrote Mrs. Bradford. "We have had a delightful passage—smooth seas and pleasant days. The boys have not been sick. . . . They have thoroughly enjoyed the trip. . . . This has been the pleasantest voyage I have ever had."¹⁴ Proceeding slowly from Liverpool to London, they stopped frequently along the way, as Cutler and Petersen had done sixteen years earlier. In London where they stayed for almost two weeks, they visited "many of the sights . . . the British Museum, National Gallery, Tate Gallery, St. Paul's, Westminster Abbey, So. Kensington Museum, Kensington Palace, Hertford House &c. &c." Cutler was an indefatigable sightseer, and being well versed in English history, made the experience a fascinating one for his sons. "I think the boys have learned a good deal" he wrote, "even if they do not appreciate what they would if they were older."¹⁵

Leaving London on Thursday morning the thirteenth of August, they reached Paris via Folkstone and Boulogne. Having spent the first night at a hotel, they located a room at 106 Boulevard Clichy, large enough for all three of them and only a little over a mile north of the Place de la Concorde. Cutler had a marked preference for the French capital. "I like Paris as well as ever. . . . I am glad we came when we did instead of remaining in London."¹⁶

As in England they spent a large part of their time sightseeing. One of the first places Cutler revisited with the boys was Napoleon's tomb, for it was Abbott's biography of Napoleon that had initially inspired in him an interest in men "who had done things." The tour of the Hôtel des Invalides was soon followed by trips to La Madeleine, the cathedral of Notre Dame, the Eglise de St. Roche and by walks about Paris to the Place Ven-

dôme, the Place de la Concorde and the Champs-Élysées. "We have visited most of the places of interest here in the city although of course only superficially." With the Louvre it was a different matter; there he took them frequently. "We never tire of that. I have tried to give the boys some idea of the general characteristics of the different schools of art. Conrad appreciates these things rather more than Hal does. They both seem to have very good memories for details. There is a great deal in French history which interests them largely I suppose from its very bloodiness."¹⁷

They did not lead a haphazard existence in Paris, for to Cutler time was precious and must be spent wisely, investing it so that each hour would bring a valuable dividend. As a prerequisite to enjoying any project, Cutler insisted on their getting adequate sleep. He himself had had but a few hours rest each night during May and June, and even the restful ocean crossing had not erased his fatigue. In Paris he still required nine to eleven hours. The mornings were given over to study. The goal was to teach the boys enough French so that they would not find their first days at Glay too bewildering. To this end all their lessons were carried on in that language: arithmetic, French history, and a course he called "object lessons." "Our chief study is French grammar which the boys call the 'blue book' from its color—and which they also call their enemy. They are making progress."¹⁸ Cutler himself had finally mastered the language only by eliminating from his daily life any temptation to speak English. This same method he used in teaching his boys. "They are getting quite large doses of French and are coming to understand now something of what they hear and read. It comes slowly and yet I am surprised that they have learned so much. I have given considerable time to their studies and I think it will not be without some advantage."¹⁹

The time in Paris passed rapidly. Hardly had they become settled in the room on Boulevard Clichy, before it was September. The strenuous mornings of study gave way in the afternoons to sightseeing trips of fascinating discovery. In the last week of September Cutler took the boys to Glay, where he stayed for a few days helping them get settled. Regretfully postponing again a trip to the countries of his beloved classical literature, he returned to London, sailing from Liverpool a week later on the eighth of October.²⁰

His vacation had given Cutler much needed time to find himself in his new life. Many of the places where he and his sons stayed, Harriet Ford

had visited almost fifteen years before, and they enjoyed thinking about it. "At Stratford as we stood at the railing in front of the grave of Shakespeare, Hal said, 'perhaps we are stepping now just where mama's foot was once.'" In Paris it was the Église de St. Roche, "where Harriet used often to go when she was in Paris. It was near the hotel where she stayed." In everything they did Cutler wrote: "the thoughts of her sweet self and her noble life are very prominent. . . . I cannot break away from them—nor would I. Conrad and Hal and I have many little talks together about her. . . . I cannot say we are not homesick for her."²¹ It was his enormous personal loneliness, contrasted with the carefree and happy days with his sons, that made of the trip what he described as "a strange mixture of experience."²² If nothing else, the passage of time in places far removed from home had dispelled many of his uncertainties, and allowed him to gather strength to resume his task. By September eighth he could write: "I already have new courage for the work and the vision of new things is becoming clearer." His solitude, though unrelieved, no longer usurped all his thoughts. "I shall not lose courage although I shall not cease to be lonely. I cannot review the experience even now but sometime I shall be able." By the end of his stay he was writing: "I am quite ready to turn homeward again."²³

Stopping off in Wellesley Hills with the Bradfords to see Christine he found more of a trial than a comfort. "I could not very well stay in Wellesley Hills. I felt all the time as if I were just going to cry. I do not mean that I did not enjoy being there with you all but there were many reminders." It was not until he had arrived at Mount Hermon that he was able to shake this feeling. "I had Charlie Streeter bring me home by the lower road. I stopped just for a little where we laid her away and there in just that little moment I felt free again and I have been glad." At his first chapel service he was greeted by the students with a Chautauqua salute and a welcoming address by the president of the senior class. A telephone had been installed in his office. It was good to be home again. "I am already in the work and it is surely the best antidote I have found."²⁴

For a number of years Cutler had been thinking of completing requirements for an M.A. degree from Amherst. Although his teaching experience fulfilled most of the conditions, he had never had the time nor the opportunity to collect the material for a thesis, nor had he had access to a library of such caliber as he would need. Most of his week in London in early October he spent in the reading rooms of the British Museum doing the research for

a paper to be called *The Romans in Gaul*, and half filling a notebook with material culled from a score of volumes. Apart from Theodor Mommsen's monograph, which he studied in a French translation, he confined his reading to the works of French historians. The subject allowed him to pursue two of his long-standing interests, Roman and early French history—for it covered the influence of the Romans upon the Gauls as well as a history of their conquest and occupation.²⁵

Meticulous about his work, he chose his material with insight and imagination, neither confining himself to secondary material, nor limiting his quest to the printed page. He studied pictures of the ruins of Roman towns and reproductions of Latin inscriptions for an understanding of the religion of Rome and the government of the provinces, and even used pertinent material in illustrated guides to French and Swiss museums. Besides these, he consulted half a dozen books by Frenchmen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and one published as early as 1599: Claude Fauchet, *Les Antiquitez Gauloises et Francoises*.

After his return to Mount Hermon that fall, he set down the first draft of his essay on the back of some stationery. Certain of his material before he began, he compressed many words onto each page, with few erasures or corrections. The article is not purely a political history, but includes descriptions of current social conditions, and critical judgments of both the Gauls and the Romans. Deploring the lack of an adequate study of life in Gaul under Roman rule, Cutler wrote: "A province under the rule of a great empire has really no history. There is no need to abridge the history written about Gaul. History is about the affairs of the palace but the province is forgotten." He laments what he terms the "silent centuries," believing that the historians were disregarding rich source material, "the buried treasures of ancient Roman cities dug up today by French peasants."²⁶ That his thesis for the advanced degree from Amherst should be the result of his week's vacation in London was not strange. Henry Cutler was happiest when studying. Learning was his hobby, and traveling a superb opportunity to educate himself.

When the Bradfords invited him to bring his family to Wellesley Hills for Christmas, Cutler accepted with alacrity, dreading the thought of trying to celebrate this day of special associations at home so soon after his wife's death. But he still very much wanted to "keep the children close to the ideals of their mother" and Christmas with the Bradfords and Mrs. Ford, the children's grandmother, provided a happy solution.²⁷ In March Christine

was brought home because of illness at the Bradfords', and by the end of the summer Conrad and Hal had returned from their year at Glay and the family was reunited.

Before Cutler left for Europe in the summer of 1903, his cousin Carrie had volunteered to take care of the children. With Christine in Wellesley Hills, the two oldest boys going to Europe, and a housekeeper to watch over the other four, such a step had not been immediately necessary. It was not until October 14, therefore three days prior to his return, that Miss Carrie B. Cutler arrived at Mount Hermon, to face the well-nigh impossible task of taking the place of Harriet Ford, who had almost immediately been canonized by both the students and faculty, not to mention her own children.

Carrie Cutler, who was within a month of turning forty-one when she took her place in the principal's house, was the daughter of Cutler's uncle, George, who ran a store in Ware, about fifteen miles by road to the southeast of Greenwich. Cutler had seen quite a bit of her family during his youth, for Ware was one of the towns in which Daniel Cutler had sold most of his produce, and the George Cutlers frequently visited Greenwich where they had many friends. Like his brother, George was a respected member of his town where he served for many years as town clerk, and felt the same responsibility for the affairs of his community. Carrie was sixth in a family of eleven, seven of whom, however, died in early childhood. Her upbringing was similar to Henry's, except that she lived in town rather than on a farm. Encouraged to continue her studies beyond the accepted limits for women, she spent two years at Wellesley. Of happy disposition, fairly tolerant, she was quiet in manner and appearance, and rarely tried to exert her influence outside of her home. Later on, as wife of the principal of Mount Hermon, and with a large family to care for and rear, she found little time for the entertaining which was looked for as part of her position. To those who knew her best she was "a fine woman, a fine spirit." So quickly and unobtrusively did she take her place in the household, that within less than two months Cutler was writing: "Cousin Carrie is getting along very nicely indeed. I really do not see how we could get along without her."²⁸

Cutler had realized soon after the loss of his wife how great the added burden would be for him to bring up his seven children. "It will be my purpose to do for all the children all I can to give them a good start in life with proper training. I realize that this last is not easily accomplished without a mother in the home."²⁹ By 1907, after four years at Mount Hermon, Carrie

Bell Cutler had become a beloved member of the family, and with the approval of his children Cutler asked her to become his wife. They were married in Ware, at the home of Carrie's father, on November 6 at 2:30 in the afternoon. A beautiful set of solid silver knives and forks, a present from "his boys, the Mount Hermon students" touched him most deeply. Later that afternoon Mr. and Mrs. Cutler took the train for New York, from whence they were to sail the following day on the *Cretic* for a seven weeks' trip to Italy, Switzerland, and France.³⁰

At last Cutler was making his long-postponed trip to Italy. Ever since his New Salem days, when he first began the study of Latin, he had longed to visit the "eternal city" with its many reminders of Roman civilization. Although he was not disappointed in his expectations, he soon returned to France with all the eagerness of one rejoining an old friend.

Cutler seldom left Mount Hermon while it was in session, and during his first nine years as principal, when the summers were free, he found it more restful to spend his vacations there as well. But under the three term system adopted in 1899, this was no longer true, for the school was in operation all the year round. For rest and change he must look elsewhere. With the exception of a week's driving trip in 1909, Cutler's American travels were limited to school business, to Mount Hermon club banquets, to the academic exercises of eastern universities—such as the inaugurations of presidents for Wesleyan and Harvard—and to the conferences of the National Education Association.

He had never been too happy on Heron Island, and it was natural that after Harriet Ford's death he should look to Europe as the ideal place for his vacations, where he could indulge his love for foreign languages and his thirst for learning. Less than four years after his wedding trip Cutler made another brief sojourn in France. Stopping off in New Haven to make arrangements for two Hermon boys to be admitted to Yale, he sailed from New York on September 29, 1911. Returning to the "hill" in time for Thanksgiving, he found all the students out to meet him at the station, led by the school band, and was drawn back to his home in a carriage pulled by the boys. At Mount Hermon the welcome was continued with songs, cheers, and speeches. No matter how pleasant the vacation, it was always good to be home.³¹

That same year ground had been broken for the construction of Ford Cottage, the principal's home, built by contributions from 1250 former

students as a memorial to Harriet Ford. It was hers in more than one sense, for she and Henry Cutler had worked over the plans for such a home well before her death. At a chapel service on the fifth of March, 1912, the house was officially presented to the school and to Cutler, and on April fifteenth the Cutlers moved in. It was a happy new home, particularly well suited for combining family life and the entertainment demands of a large school.

The year which had opened so auspiciously proved a difficult and unhappy one. Daniel Cutler died on the twentieth of June in his eighty-second year. Cutler felt his loss severely. His father had been a constant source of strength to him, and through the example of his own living had been the most important single influence in Henry's life. A much heavier blow fell four months later when Cutler's third son, Robert Dudley, then in his sixteenth year, suddenly contracted a severe case of malignant scarlet fever, and died within three days. Cutler nursed his son almost alone, as he would not let any one else take the risk of contracting the disease. The very suddenness and magnitude of his bereavement stunned him. By nature an emotional man, his reticence only served to emphasize the depth of his feeling. The afternoon following Robert's death he had to struggle with all his strength to gain control of himself. In his home he set about doing odd jobs that demanded little concentrated thinking and a maximum use of his hands. For an hour or more he swatted flies in the kitchen. Little by little he was able to pray and to place himself in God's hands. "Somehow in all these things that come in our experience I feel that God knows best and His love is all about us."³² By the time his two older sons came home from Williams the morning after their brother's death, Cutler had won a serenity which left an indelible impression on them:

. . . Dad had already, with the help of two of the professors, carried his son down off the side porch roof of Ford Cottage and buried him. He stood in the doorway of Ford Cottage as we came up the walk and, with the sweet smile he always had, said, "Isn't this a beautiful day, boys?"³³

Robert's schoolmates donated a prize to be presented each year at commencement to that member of the senior class showing highest excellence in athletics. Robert's younger brother, John, was its first recipient. Although it was normally the duty of the principal, Cutler could never bring himself to make the award, and was always profoundly moved by it.

Cutler's intellectual appetite was never satisfied. Nineteen hundred and

twelve also saw him reading Henry Bergson's *Creative Evolution*. Though languages were always his first love, he made a fetish of staying posted on the leading discoveries in all fields, and devoted as much time as he could command, away from the demands of school administration, to keeping abreast of developments on the academic front. The students noticed that when he answered the door of Ford Cottage he usually held a book in his hand, his thumb marking the page.

As a boy he had a fancy for learning what was going on outside the Swift River Valley. In college he had chosen, as topics for rhetoric, controversial issues of the time. He read his newspaper daily, and enjoyed the weekly news magazines, subscribing to the *Atlantic*, *Saturday Evening Post*, and *National Geographic*. Toward the end of his life he added to the list such publications as *United States News*, *World Report*, *Reader's Digest*, *Omni-book*, and medical papers including the *American Medical Journal* and *Hygeia*. His enthusiasm for studying never waned. Even after his return from Austria in 1941, in his eightieth year, he read avidly, among other things Samuel E. Morison's biography of Columbus, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*.

Catholic in his reading tastes, he by no means limited himself to philosophy or languages. Works of such nineteenth century writers as the Irish-American journalist and adventurer, John Boyle O'Reilly, and the English novelist, William Wilkie Collins, found their way into his hands. As a boy he devoured most of Scott, both novels and poetry, though it was the latter that interested him most. His library held several poetry collections, such as the Atheneum Series. Among his papers are a number of envelopes stuffed with newspaper and magazine clippings that had particularly appealed to him, the great majority of them ethical in content. The following, by Sarah Knowles Bolton, is a good example:

I like the man who faces what he must
With step triumphant, and a heart of cheer:
Who fights the daily battle without fear;
Sees his hopes fail, yet keeps unfaltering trust
That God is God; . . .
. . . he alone is great
Who, by a life heroic conquers fate.

What he liked in a poem was a good stout rhythm that you could tap your foot to, and a good strong moral. Curiously enough, he eschewed poets

whose verses, like the inscriptions he so admired, were taut and pithy. What must he have thought of Whitman, or even of Emily Dickinson, or Amy Lowell? Occasionally he amused himself by writing verses, most of which he kept to himself. Sometimes he would write a sentiment for his Christmas card:

The whispering pines of Hermon
Are green at Christmas time
And through their arches rings again
The age old wish for you:
Good cheer at Christmas
And in the glad New Year.

For his page in the Alumni Quarterly for March, 1932, he composed two verses on Spring at Mount Hermon, commendable rather for their youth-like enthusiasm than as poetry:

The sun is shining on Mount Hermon hill
The springtime is coming, the heart is thrill.
The lawns are dressing in garments of green
The hillside is glowing in bright morning sheen.
The buds are bursting on all the trees
And branches are waving in the fresh spring breeze.
The blue sky is bending, majestic above
All nature is showing God's infinite love.

The bells are ringing on Mount Hermon hill
The students go singing with right good will.
Old memories are waking, the heart is in tune
The school flag is waving, all hail the maroon.
Mount Hermon still standing, face upturned to God
With blessings still flowing where once you have trod.
Life ever is pulsing when comes the springtime
Our souls are awaking to new thoughts sublime.

Upon his return from Belgium in 1917 he started collecting the public papers of Herbert Hoover, and in the early twenties he closely followed the political writings of Walter Lippmann. His library held evidence of his life-long interest in Napoleon: he seemed to buy each new biography as it came out, and in France he purchased picturebooks containing reproductions of hundreds of paintings of Napoleon. Photographic reproductions of all works of art were fascinating to him, and during his long years of study in Paris and Vienna in the thirties, he made a collection of them. Be-

sides all these he had an odd assortment of old books, picked up on the quais of Paris and in the bookstores of London; among them a Hannah More printed in 1830, two history books, a *History of England* and a *Histoire de Ligue*, printed in 1732, and a third edition of the works of Malherbe, published in 1638. But his collection of books pertaining to languages, ancient and modern, dwarfed all others. Here were lexicons for eight tongues, including Hindustani and Russian; here were a grammar, textbook and dictionary of Sanskrit which he had used in his studies in Europe in 1887-88, and which he continued to study off and on the rest of his life. Japanese, Russian, and Hindustani grammars, all annotated by Cutler, bore witness to his continuing curiosity in strange languages, for these he had taken up in his seventies, after his retirement from Mount Hermon.

Cutler believed that there had been little in his education more important than his two years of study in Europe. When the opportunity presented itself in 1903 to take his sons there, he did not hesitate, even though they were quite young at the time. Learning a foreign language was in itself valuable as a key, opening up to them a rich field of literature. In 1914 he arranged to send the twins, Harriet and Helen, to Germany for a year of study. Mrs. Cutler went with them to help them get settled, returning late in the spring. Barely had they started their work, however, when war broke out forcing them to return home.

The German assault upon France brought back to Cutler vivid memories of his life at Glay, in the Vosges near the Franco-German border. He remembered the day in 1888 when the new conscripts marched off for their period of service in the Army, and relived the anxiety which had stirred the people of that small town when the provocative conduct of General Boulanger threatened to lead them into war. At that time hardly fifteen years had gone by since the German Army had passed triumphantly through their valley. Now, as the conflict spread, it became evident to the world that it would not soon be over. At first it was generally hoped in America that we would not be drawn in, and isolationism was common, especially outside of the larger cities. To the people of Northfield and Gill, Massachusetts, the war and its attendant miseries seemed particularly remote. Few of them had ventured far beyond New England, and an even lesser number to Europe or other foreign lands. The student body, almost since its very first year, however, had been cosmopolitan. The British contingent had always been relatively large because of D. L. Moody's travels and contacts in England,

but at one time or another the students included representatives of almost every race. Mount Hermon, therefore, was perhaps more convinced of the scope of the war, and of our inevitable responsibility, than most other schools, and certainly more so than the surrounding community.

As the war progressed, reports reached this country of the sufferings of the French and Belgian people, over whose homeland the German Army had rolled in its initial advance. Not only did they lack food and clothing, but as an inescapable result of the military operations they were cut off from all their normal sources of supply. Because of their relationship to the struggle, those closest were powerless to help. It took the imagination and organizing genius of a small group of men, headed from the first by Herbert Hoover, not only to grasp the problem but to formulate and put into effect a plan for its solution. The resultant Commission for Relief in Belgium began its work late in 1914. Cutler was deeply distressed by the suffering of all those whose homes lay in the afflicted area, but especially by the plight of his beloved French people. "I had lived in France and had known the French people, and my heart went out for them." Had he been younger he would have volunteered for military service. As it was: "I was too old to serve in the war and yet I wanted to do something to help."³⁴ Early in 1916 he volunteered his services to the Commission for Relief in Belgium, hoping that his knowledge of both French and German would be particularly valuable to them.³⁵ In writing to the CRB, he made it clear that he wanted to go abroad only if there were a real need for him, that he was not interested in taking a trip, or in doing the fashionable thing. Their answer left no room for further doubt: ". . . we can assure you that such as you are very badly needed by the Commission for its Belgian organization."³⁶ Strengthened by this assurance, Cutler set about arranging his affairs at Mount Hermon in preparation for a six months absence. Less than two months remained before the sailing date set for him in July, and in that time he would have to obtain permission from the Trustees, plan for his absence at home and at the school, as well as taking a major part in Mount Hermon's thirty-fifth anniversary celebration.

On top of all this came an unexpected event. On the tenth of June a telegram from a graduate of Mount Hermon, representing the University of Syracuse, announced that the University would confer on him at their commencement that June the degree of Doctor of Civil Laws. Cutler was completely taken by surprise. Leaving Mount Hermon on June thirteenth,

he received his degree the following morning, and returned the fifteenth as "Dr. Cutler," by which title he was thenceforth to be known. Presiding at chapel service that day, he was greeted with song and cheer, and gave one of his most effective talks. Here was an opportunity to encourage his boys toward higher education, which would open for them "the wide world of learning and of opportunity."³⁷ He told of sitting on the platform with the other recipients of honorary degrees and the officers of the University, and wishing that his father, who from the beginning had encouraged and inspired him, could have been there to share the day with him. In one of his rare personal allusions, he recalled that just before he left Greenwich to begin his freshman year at Amherst in 1882, his father had promised him a barrel of apples if he did well in his studies. The value of this reward his farmer-students could still appreciate, and he used the barrel of apples as a homely symbol, representing the reward that comes, sooner or later, to all those who work hard and are not afraid to give of themselves.³⁸

Three weeks later he announced to the school his plans for the six months leave of absence which the Trustees had granted him, making a plea for all of them to save food and send money and clothing to the Belgians. Nor had he lost sight of the other innocent victims of the war: he asked their help for Poland and Armenia as well. On the twentieth of July, a farewell service was held for him on the lawn in front of Ford Cottage, and he was given a Bible, a toilet case, and a group picture of the school buildings mounted on linen. The following day the W. S. Yeagers drove him down to New York.³⁹

The day of departure was a busy one. Cutler collected his passport—signed by his college classmate, Secretary of State Robert Lansing—visited the British Consulate to clear with them, picked up a certificate from the offices of the CRB on his way to his boat, the S. S. *St. Louis*. Despite the driving rain, the family, Mr. and Mrs. Yeager, and several "old" boys were at the dock to see him off, and Cutler found "the real parting was a little hard." The harbor was shrouded in mist as they sailed down the river with the fog horn blowing, but by evening the weather had cleared and the night was beautiful. "The mission was now really begun."⁴⁰ First class was almost filled with nearly two hundred passengers (among them Elsie Janis) many of them English and Canadians. That evening, Cutler started a diary similar to the one he had kept from 1882–1889: it was a sparse record of events, reminders of things he did not want to forget. Seldom did he mention his feelings and often he recorded only the date and the weather.

His first full day at sea, July 23, was the twenty-sixth anniversary of his marriage to Harriet Ford. "My wedding day—like a sweet dream of the past. I think she would approve of this." The weather was beautiful and clear, and the sea like glass. "How wonderful it all is again, this majesty and grandeur of the sea. There is the old charm about it strong as ever."⁴¹ The voyage was pleasant, for Cutler met many interesting people from all over the world, and seized upon the chance to widen his own horizons. His diary mentions speaking with men from "Tasmania—Hongkong—&c &c." Some of the time he spent studying French and German, reading Von Moltke's *History of the War of 1870-71*. At the end of five days he found himself "pretty well prepared," and noticed that the other passengers, too, were beginning to think of the "other side." Except for the short wireless news despatches, they had been comparatively isolated from the war. Once they had sighted a freighter marked "Belgian Relief," but it was not until they were within sight of land that they saw "a British war scout patrol cruiser."

Landing and passing through the customs was a long process, consequently Cutler did not arrive at the Kingsley Hotel in London until almost midnight, and found the city plunged in inky blackness, illuminated only by searchlights. His stay lasted five days, and his duties for the CRB required little of that time. He received his instructions, and was welcomed into his new work by Herbert Hoover, a moving experience to him and one which he never forgot, but there was still abundant time for sightseeing. Visiting the Houses of Parliament, he heard Mr. Asquith speak; he explored St. Paul's Cathedral and its crypts, and finally the burial place of John Milton in St. Giles Church, Cripplegate, where the inscription so impressed him that he memorized it, and later on set it down in his diary. "Oh Spirit—What in me is dark illumine,—what is low raise and support."

Leaving London on August fourth, he reached Rotterdam by way of Tilbury. It was a dangerous trip, the ship which had left just before his had been sunk, and the North Sea was apparently sown with floating mines, one of which his own ship narrowly missed ramming. Most of his ten-day stay in Rotterdam was spent in waiting, but he made use of his leisure studying a long mimeographed book of instructions on his approaching duties, and visiting The Hague, the Palace of Peace, Scheveningen, Amsterdam, and various art museums. On August 15 he left Rotterdam, going as

far as Rosenthal by train, and thence by auto via Antwerp and Malines to Brussels.

Once there Cutler was soon at work, and for the next five months he served as a "representative in charge of the receipt and disbursement of foodstuffs and clothing for the City of Brussels and its neighboring communes," which involved the provisioning of the civil population of Brussels.⁴² It was hard and exacting work requiring constant vigilance. In setting up its organization, the CRB had taken advantage of the Belgian communal system. Opposite the desk of each member of the CRB in each of its offices was the desk of his opposite member on the Comité National, the Belgian organization, and the business of the CRB was conducted in coöperation between the two. In Cutler's case, all the representatives of the subordinate regional committees, dependent upon his provincial committee, transacted their business through his office. At least once a month he had also to be present "at the meetings of the Burgomasters and Regional committees" in his region, where he was "expected to explain all that needs explanation, and to defend all that needs defending, for in this way a complete chain of organization is maintained, connecting the smallest Committee of the Comité National and the Commission for Relief in Belgium."⁴³

The number of things for which a representative was responsible were legion. Principally, of course, he must supervise the distribution of foodstuffs, but this involved a hundred other things: checking the lighters when they arrived and examining their seals, making certain after unloading, that no false bottoms existed. His life seemed crowded with endless checkings and inspections. How much flour was being milled? How much bread was being made? What ingredients were going into it—what proportion of flour and maize? Most important was the daily program of bread distribution, which had to be carefully supervised. The following is one outline of what this included:

You must know how much wheat has been sent to the mills, how much has been ground into flour and to whom this flour has been sent. In distributing you must know how much flour has been given to the people who bake their own bread, as well as to the regular bakeries, etc. You must also carefully supervise the quantity of flour given to your province, communes, regions, etc., and this must necessarily correspond with the figure obtained by multiplying the population of your province by the ration of flour granted per capita. Where the baker receives flour direct, you must know how many loaves he must bake daily in order to provide for his clientele and to be certain that no flour or bread is being wasted. You must



DR. CUTLER AND DR. GARHART

know also how many people are being fed in the soup-kitchens, how many children are being fed in the baby-kitchens.⁴⁴

The very existence of the CRB was always precarious. "At no time were the finances of the Commission certain for more than a few months, and at different periods its liabilities were in excess of its actual or prospective assets."⁴⁵ In order to retain the confidence of those individuals and nations who supported it, CRB representatives were forced not only to know where the food and supplies were going, but also to keep the most elaborate and complete accounts, and to keep constant track of the shifting population.

What is the population of your province, What did the Comité National give you last month? What did you do with it? Where did you send it? Who consumed it? Have you received a number of refugees during the past month, thereby increasing your population? Have any of the villages been affected by military operations, thereby diminishing or increasing your needs for the coming month? What will be your needs for the coming month? What will be your demands on the Comité National in order to live another month?⁴⁶

These were only the "main points of the work . . . points which will, in themselves, bring their own problems to be solved by personal tact, diplomacy and common sense."⁴⁷

In addition to flour, the CRB handled lard, rice, maize, macaroni, corn, fish, condensed milk, peas, beans, and dried fruit, besides clothing, oil and other goods. Even Cutler was forced to admit at times that he was very busy. "We had to make out our reports and it was a big proposition. It took me nearly three days to get it completed." The demands of his job only increased his enjoyment of it. "The work here is most interesting and I should like to stay with it but my time is up in January."⁴⁸

Characteristically, Cutler still found time to continue his study of French and German, and throughout his stay in Brussels he took lessons with M. Plasse, one of his Belgian assistants. Twice Mr. Hoover came over from London and spoke to the commissioners. In November Cutler attended worship in the Eglise Sainte Gudule "held in honor of the King's fête day." It was a simple but very moving service.

The church was crowded even to the doors all the standing room being taken. At the close of the service the Brabançonne was played on the great organ. After a few measures one could distinguish a low sound which gradually increased until presently everywhere in the church the song had been taken up and everybody was singing the Brabançonne. The chorus closes with *vive le roi, la loi, et la*

liberté. Then they shouted Vive le roi, Vive la Liberté. They got up on the chairs and waved their handkerchiefs. The women cried and many of the men too. It was the expression of pent up feelings and nothing could stop it.⁴⁹

During the Mass someone tried to pass him a copy of *Libre Belgique* but he refused it, for the commissioners had to be meticulously impartial in all their actions. The existence of the CRB had once been jeopardized by the partisan work of one representative. Their job, and their only reason for being in Belgium, was Relief.

In the middle of October Cutler was able to get away for a day to visit Antwerp. Covering the city as thoroughly as time allowed, he observed the damage inflicted by shells ("more . . . than I expected"). The Royal Art Museum was opened specially for him and his companion by the director, who showed them about, although many of the best paintings had been stored away for safe keeping. Among other places they visited the Zoological Garden, the churches of St. Jacques and St. Paul, and the Calvaire-berg. They walked along the deserted waterfront, which Cutler found beautiful. Best of all he liked the Plantin-Moretus museum—housed in the old home and workshop of Plantin—where the collection of Incunabula, in particular one of the first Gutenberg Bibles, fascinated him.

In November, with another commissioner, he traveled to Diest in eastern Belgium, passing across that portion of the country over which the German Army had marched. The trip made a sharp impression on him, for he saw on a large scale the destructiveness of war. He noted that "many villages were laid waste. The churches seemed to suffer most. The church in Haect was blown up two or three days after the Germans took possession of the town and after the Belgians had fled."

It was more difficult to judge the effect of war on the people. Certain aspects were obvious: they lacked adequate food, and their clothing was wearing thin. The story of the Burgomaster at Diest highlighted other aspects.

The Germans had destroyed the town of Schaeffen nearby and entered Diest evidently with the purpose of destroying the town and shooting the leading officials as they had done at Schaeffen. The Burgomaster finally succeeded in saving the town from destruction and himself and fellow officials from being shot . . . he is a physician. . . . He was without horses as they had been taken by the Germans. There were no tramways as they had been discontinued by the Germans. The day I was there he was just coming in from a long walk to Mon-

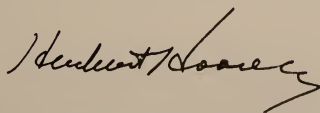
HERBERT HOOVER

The Waldorf-Astoria Towers
New York 22, New York
February 3, 1949

My dear Mrs. Cutler:

Dr. Cutler was a delegate of the Commission for Relief in Belgium assigned to the Brussels District in 1916 and 1917. He brought to his work a maturity of mind, the knowledge of people that resulted from his years of service to men and boys, and an inner conviction of the value of the human and friendly approach in meeting varied duties. He was a valued member of the C. R. B.

Yours faithfully,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Herbert Hoover", with a stylized, sweeping flourish at the end.

taigne a town two or three miles away where he had been called to an urgent accident case. He is a man about 65 years of age. He had two sons one of whom had been killed at Liège . . . fighting. The doctor seemed to me like a noble brave man who had done and was doing the work of a hero. He had a wonderful story to tell.⁵⁰

Especially pathetic to Cutler was the sight of little children "standing in front of the candy stores just watching the candy . . . after they have eaten soup and bread for . . . two years, there is a great craving . . . for something sweet."⁵¹

The deep gloom of Belgium weighed heavily upon him. He found it difficult to describe the country, surrounded by a "wall of steel," in anything but terms of despair. There was no gaiety, no singing. The constant, inescapable roar of cannons, was a background noise to daily life and brought its reaction on the people. "It is no wonder there is depression everywhere." Long trains of wounded were being brought back from the front, distressing reminders of the human consequences of the noise. The restrictions imposed by the invader were painfully apparent. No meetings could be held, traveling was forbidden, newspapers were controlled, sentries were posted everywhere, and infractions of the law severely punished. And always the air was filled with rumors, uncertainty, and the constant fear of hunger. Cutler found it hard to leave when his time was up, knowing that the job of relief was far from completed.

At the end of the first week in January, however, he set out for Rotterdam, on the initial leg of his journey home. Before leaving, he turned over what remained of his personal account with the CRB—more than \$150.00—to the Brussels Office Charity Fund to be used to assist particularly needy cases. He left behind him a record of service that Herbert Hoover remembered many years later.

He brought to his work a maturity of mind, the knowledge of people that resulted from his years of service to men and boys, and an inner conviction of the value of the human and friendly approach in meeting varied duties. He was a valued member of the CRB.⁵²

In a Rotterdam hotel Cutler came across fifty young Belgians who, though they would not talk to him, discussed so freely and loudly amongst themselves in the lobby that it was easy to learn their story. Recently escaped from Belgium, they were on their way to England to join Belgian army units. Cutler, distressed by their reckless talk, tried to persuade them to stop,

but they were so happy to be free that they could not restrain themselves: they even told their plans for crossing the North Sea. A few days later, while in London, Cutler was saddened to read in the morning paper that their little Dutch steamer had been taken into Zeebrugge, and the young Belgians removed and shot. The rest of his trip home was uneventful, and it was with great happiness that he returned to the freedom of life in the United States.

The greeting that awaited him at Mount Hermon was unparalleled in its warmth and affection. The school had been given a holiday in honor of his return, and the entire student body met him at the train. Although the temperature was below zero, they formed a procession and marched from the station to the school, lighting the way with red flares. In the gymnasium, after cheers and speeches of welcome by the student body, Cutler spoke briefly and shook hands with each boy.

The *Hermonite* expressed the sentiments of faculty and students in a tribute remarkable for its sincerity and fervor:

We, the Faculty and students of Mount Hermon School, welcome you home with great joy and profound thankfulness.

We rejoice to have you back in our midst because of our love for you, for you have endeared yourself to the whole great Mount Hermon family past and present.

We rejoice that you have been preserved in safety amidst many and various perils on land and sea, and return thanks to Almighty God for His goodness to you and to us in protecting you from danger. Our prayers have followed you and we praise God that our petitions have been heard.

We rejoice that God has seen fit to use your remarkable talents in the ministering to an oppressed people and for the succor of the innocent and destitute. In doing this you have rendered a service to God and to humanity, the extent of which can never be fully estimated. You can say "the blessings of him that was ready to perish came upon me, and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy."

We rejoice that you have been used to strengthen the ties between America and distant nations.

We believe that the experiences you have passed through will enrich us in the future, and pray that you may long be spared to carry on your great life work, with joy to yourself, and blessing to this country and the world.

It is with great joy that we can again refer to our principal, Dr. Cutler, and know that he is in our midst, ready to greet one and all with his "loving, simple-hearted, sympathetic and thoroughly wholesome" personality.⁵³

The overwhelming contrast between the poverty, distress, and hunger that Cutler had witnessed in Belgium, and the rich plenty to which he re-

turned in the United States, necessarily affected his thinking, and convinced him that he must try to awaken others to the pressing realities of the war and to their responsibility towards the suffering people of Europe. Until the end of March when he was taken ill, he devoted every possible minute to this task. In February, at a dinner of the New York Mount Hermon Club, he gave a speech to the "old boys" in which he asserted his belief that as human beings "we are really all bound together." Because of this bond of common humanity, the United States, he felt, was inescapably a party to the hunger and want of the Belgians. Citing his experiences with the CRB, he pointed out that to feed the occupied area in France and Belgium the commissioners had to "consult the crops of the whole world," and that a below normal yield in any one area would mean starvation in those dependent upon it.

Just as inescapably was the United States a party to the war. Although he never expressly stated it, Cutler's remarks lead one to believe that he thought the country would soon be drawn into the conflict. The conviction of the responsibility of human for human extended itself in his mind beyond merely feeding and clothing the needy. The oppression he had witnessed in Belgium was contrary to all that America stood for, and although the thought of war horrified him, our responsibility in his eyes was clear. Speaking in February, he laid great stress on the terrible costs of war, but later on when war was declared he asked the school to be prepared to make sacrifices and urged that "there be no shirking in the ranks of the Mount Hermon men."⁵⁴

The greatest portion of his time, however, was given over to raising money for the CRB. At Mount Hermon he turned the actual work of collecting over to the students, since any gift from them would be made at a sacrifice and should, he felt, be left up to them. Through his influence, nearby Walnut Hill School subscribed some money and tried to arrange to support a particular school in Belgium. At the end of the war Cutler received both the Medal of King Albert and the Comité National Commemorative Medal, first class, the latter applying especially to his relief work.

The strain of a heavy schedule, coming as it did on top of six months of work carried on under both necessary and voluntary privations, took a heavy toll of Cutler's reserves of strength, and he soon succumbed to a severe nose infection aggravated by too drastic surgery. Forced to take to his bed on the twenty-ninth of March, he entered the Brattleboro hospital

two days later in extremely serious condition, and there was not a little concern for his life. With hospital care and rest, however, his natural resiliency soon won out, and at the end of two weeks he was allowed to return to his home. "I am still a little weak but am getting well rapidly. . . . They took good care of me in the hospital but I have no desire to go back there again. . . . I am thankful to be here in all that is so beautiful."⁵⁵

By this time the United States had declared war upon Germany. With the opening of hostilities Cutler's duties were increased. The war took a heavy toll at Mount Hermon, not only among the faculty but among the students, a high percentage of whom were of military age. In order to save fuel, Cutler closed Ford Cottage, and moved with Mrs. Cutler into Crossley. "We are still in Crossley" he wrote to his son Conrad in the spring of 1918, "and shall remain here until July first anyway. I am the only man teacher in the building now. I am going to have a garden just the same. I have planted quite a plot . . . today."⁵⁶

In addition to his school duties, Cutler soon took on the running of the Liberty Bond campaigns for his district, and saw that they were carried through with great success. Gill went way over the top of its quota and won an honor flag. From the very beginning of his principalship, Cutler had taken an active interest in the affairs of the town of Gill, and urged his colleagues to do the same. Always he strove for close coöperation and cordial relations between the townspeople and the school, seeking out ways in which Mount Hermon could be of assistance to its neighbors. Once he gave the use of the school's water system to supply free the "Dist. No. 1 schools." When on March 6, 1911, he was first chosen town moderator, he was continuing a long family tradition for community service. For the next eleven years, and at regular intervals from then until 1930, he was reëlected to the post, and in 1917, just after his return from Belgium, the vote was unanimous. Perhaps his greatest asset as moderator was his ability to run a town meeting with impartiality, fairness, and despatch. There were other indications of the respect in which he was held. At the end of the war he was chosen to head a committee "to arrange for a celebration of the homecoming of the Soldiers," and still later he was elected to the honorary position of Field Driver.⁵⁷

Two more honorary degrees were awarded him. On the eighth of June, 1925, he received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Dr. James L. McConaughy, president of Wesleyan University, an old Mount Hermon boy. Even

more gratifying to him was the recognition shown him six years later by his own college, whose education had been pivotal to his whole life. Many of his Amherst classmates were present to see him receive the degree of Doctor of Humane Letters and to hear him cited as "wise and experienced in teaching and counsel."⁵⁸ One of the class officers wrote to him afterwards: "The whole class is happy because of this recognition of your useful labors. We are proud that you have won this honor."⁵⁹

During the nineteen-twenties Cutler confined his vacations to motoring trips about the United States. One summer he and Mrs. Cutler drove about the country visiting his children and seeing many of the grandchildren for the first time. In 1923, at the end of July they held a happy family reunion, for which all six children and their families gathered for a day at Ford Cottage. Cutler's interests continued many and varied: stamp collecting (he had become a member of the American Philatelic Association in 1902), the study of languages, reading and gardening. Golf was superseding tennis in his affections. In his late sixties he played fifty-four holes, one hot July fourth, leaving his much younger partner exhausted, though he himself was ready for more.

On the fourteenth of January, 1926, Carrie Bell Cutler died very suddenly. When Cutler left for New York the day before there had been no intimation of what was to happen. Twenty-two months later, on the first of November, Cutler married Miss Mabel Learoyd in East Orange, New Jersey. The ceremony was performed by an "old" boy, the Reverend John McDowell, with only a few friends present—some of his family and Mr. and Mrs. W. R. Moody. In the afternoon, the couple left for Atlantic City and the following day set out by car for a trip through the South, spending most of their time in Florida and Mississippi. On their return Cutler was glad to reopen Ford Cottage, "we are very happy in it."⁶⁰

Their marriage indeed proved a happy one. Miss Learoyd had been closely associated with the Northfield Schools from the day she entered the Seminary as a student in the eighteen-eighties. During the year 1889-90 she was a pupil of Harriet Ford, whom she came to love and admire, and who in the fall of 1895 was instrumental in bringing her to Mount Hermon. She taught mathematics there with only short interruptions until her marriage to Cutler in 1927. She had a keen mind and was as closely bound as he to the ideals of D. L. Moody. They were particularly well suited to each other, and it is no wonder that their life together should have been happy and use-

ful. "You are such an inspiration to me," wrote Cutler a short time after their marriage. "I want to work with you to accomplish all we can in these years together."⁸¹

These few words, written in his sixty-seventh year, reflect the spirit by which Henry Cutler lived. Over the span of four decades which this chapter covers, a period in which he suffered the loss of a young and beloved wife and was faced with bringing up seven small children, a period in which he led a great school through its formative years to maturity, squarely meeting the challenge of changing conditions, during all this time Cutler never let himself forget that each day offered opportunities for service to the man who was alive to them.

“PROF” AND HIS BOYS

CUTLER, like all good schoolteachers, loved young people. When he was studying in Paris, a few years after his retirement from Mount Hermon, almost the only thing that he could be persuaded to do, beyond his actual class work, was to have Sunday supper at a nearby church, where he could spend the evening talking with the students. The “great inspiration” of his career as principal of Mount Hermon was being “in touch with young life . . . in a position to direct and counsel and advise.” Many of the questions he was called upon to answer might be of little moment, but the reward came when occasionally students asked “what they had better do, what they had better choose in life” and as for the trivia which the job entailed “. . . there is no other process by which you can become a headmaster except to go through the detail of it day after day and come to know a boy through and through, at least fifty per cent of him.”¹

From his first contact with the limited student government of Seelye’s Amherst, Cutler had been keenly in favor of placing responsibility for their own control in the hands of the students, a predilection strengthened by his visit to England in 1900, and by his study of Stanley’s *Life of Arnold*. At Mount Hermon he found a rudimentary student government already in effect, necessitated partly by the dearth of men teachers in the early years. As soon as the minimum age of admission was raised to sixteen, a more mature group of students made up the school, and gradually the running of Mount Hermon was shifted to the shoulders of the more capable boys.

A number of the students . . . act as officers in the corridors of the principal dormitory, and in each cottage occupied by the boys. Those who have this responsibility have it in place of required manual work. These officers superintend much of the indoor work, grant some permissions, and restrain disorder.²

This plan appealed to Cutler, and as the school grew he expanded it. Heavily underscored in his copy of Bradby’s *Rugby* is a remark about Arnold that

"the education of boys in the small society of school was successful to him only if they learned to play a true part in the larger societies wherein they were destined to move."³ The teachers should not and could not be required to act as disciplinary nursemaids to a group of young men whose age averaged more than twenty.

Although the original system, endorsed by Cutler, did shift much of the responsibility for running the dormitories to the students, it gave them no real authority or power. Supervisors were appointed by the faculty, not elected. Moreover since they had not the time to carry on work-hour duties, they were necessarily assigned to the more tedious odd jobs: caring for wash-rooms, procuring supplies, and seeing that "disinfectants are on hand and properly used."⁴ During the 'nineties this makeshift plan was allowed to expand to its limits, but Cutler was not satisfied, and within a year after his return from England in 1901, he appointed a committee to discuss the problem with the students. The death of Mrs. Cutler and his own subsequent absence from the school delayed the inauguration of the resulting scheme of government until 1905, when Cutler described it to the Trustees.

We wish to report a new feature of student organization for supervision and government . . . the dormitory associations. These organizations are composed of officers regularly appointed and elected by the students resident in each dormitory. In the hands of this board of officers are entrusted all questions of order and discipline arising in connection with the dormitory life. Also social functions, and athletic contests, as well as all other matters of general dormitory interest, are under their supervision.⁵

This reform was immediately so successful that Cutler was able to report: "Matters of discipline were so well handled by them that during six consecutive months of the year the regular discipline committee of the faculty was not called upon to meet in consideration of any question of discipline whatsoever."⁶ Encouraged to extend the authority of the students, he tried to secure a closer relationship between the teachers and boys. In 1908 each of the three dormitory associations was given authority to elect a representative, making a student committee of three, who were to meet once a month with the executive committee of the faculty. "This gives an opportunity for the official presentation and discussion of matters of mutual interest to both students and faculty."⁷

In the early days of Cutler's principalship the faculty generally voted to leave the disciplining of the boys to him. "It was moved, seconded and car-

ried," the minutes of the teachers' meetings would read, "that the case of delinquent students should be left with Mr. Cutler."⁸ Later on, a temporary committee was established, to help him with the problem of formulating disciplinary policy and of deciding the merits of the more difficult cases. Soon, in the normal process of faculty committee development, the Discipline Committee with Cutler as a permanent member, became a standing one, appointed yearly at the start of the fall term.

Toward the close of each term, one or more faculty meetings were devoted to "reading the school list," and determining conduct marks. Cutler called off each boy's name and every teacher in any way concerned gave his conduct mark. Any such grade below B was failing, and immediately placed the recipient in a precarious position in regard to continuing at Mount Hermon. This time-consuming procedure irritated many of the teachers because they had interest and responsibility for only a fraction of the boys discussed. To Cutler, however, each boy was an important individual, entitled to all the time and patient consideration necessary for a just estimate of his conduct. Never did he allow an advance decision to be made; always he was ready to hear additional information that might raise a boy's mark.

But no amount of help by the teachers as a whole in their faculty meetings, or by the Discipline Committee, or by the dormitory associations could lessen the ultimate responsibility for governing the school, which was Cutler's. No system of rules or governing bodies, no matter how wise, can insure or perpetuate the happy and successful running of any school. Nor can such a state of affairs be assured by a leaderless group of even the best teachers. The major factor in the smooth functioning of any school is the character of its leadership, and this was as true of Mount Hermon as of any other school. In particular the private secondary schools have been peculiarly responsive to their principals, and associated with almost every one is the name of one or more powerful men. Therefore it is to the character of Henry F. Cutler that we must look to understand Mount Hermon.

Cutler's first contact with the boys came on opening day, when all the new and returning pupils had to pass through Holbrook Hall and shake hands with him. The meeting was of necessity a short one, and there were many who felt that the principal was wasting his time, for he could not become acquainted with his boys under such conditions. It was seldom, however, that after this first meeting he could not call each student by name, and his searching glance often discerned much in the few moments he had

with each boy. It was as if a catalogue were set up in his mind, bearing at first only the physical aspects of the students.

On the other hand the pupils had little chance to form an opinion of their new principal until the chapel service for new students, at which Cutler would tell about Mount Hermon and her traditions, and try to prepare them for an active part in school life. Their first impression was almost invariably one of strength, conveyed less by what the man had to say, than by an inner force that they could not fail to sense. Not only did all his students have the same feeling about him, but often they found the same words to describe him; he was "the quiet but reassuring center of their new world. This steady rock of strength with his twinkling eyes and quizzical smile gave a boy, in need of comfort and advice, something to anchor to."⁹ Or: "He was for hundreds of awed boys, . . . the strong quiet center of their new world."¹⁰

The feeling of awe and of inaccessibility which he inspired often prevented the boys from seeing other facets of his character, and this was sustained by the fact that during the school year there were few opportunities for him to see the boys singly. To many, he had what one student described as a "forbidding exterior," but no one would deny that it was his character and his influence which governed life at Mount Hermon.¹¹ The boys "might not come quickly to know him well, but he was there; quietly making them slowly sure that . . . there were lessons to be learned, not from books alone, but from life which were going to be well worth the learning."¹² They would see him in chapel, on the athletic fields, and as they were walking back and forth to their classes or their work-hour jobs. Sometimes he would visit a class, or take over for a sick teacher. One alumnus suggests that, if he were writing a biography of Cutler, he would include one chapter entitled "The Voice at the Window." From the vantage point of his office window in Holbrook Hall, Cutler looked across the campus to the library, the dormitories, the Chapel, and West Hall. Students going to class or to the farm passed nearby, affording him an opportunity to single them out and address a pertinent remark to one or another. Although he never accused or criticized directly, preferring to leave that to the boys' own judgment, his few terse words always gave them something to think about. To a student who had been persuaded to miss the previous day at school in order to help with the harvesting of some corn and apples, Cutler

merely remarked: "This [your schoolwork] seems to be a secondary matter." He "didn't lecture, but in a few words made a lasting impression." Or again: "My younger brother being at the school . . . , had shown that he cared more for study than I. . . . Mr. Cutler at the same window . . . said to me, 'Your brother is a keen lad.' " The implied suggestion found its mark.¹³

It was characteristic of Cutler to confine his remarks to a minimum, especially in matters of minor discipline. His object was to force the students to think things out for themselves so that any decision would be theirs. Rather than be a crutch for their thinking, he preferred to give them a hint from which they could draw their own conclusions. A decision made in this way would stand a better chance of leaving its impress upon them. When an editor of *The Hermonite* came to him for permission to print a controversial article, Cutler, although he did not want it published, never expressly forbade it. Instead he tried to present material which would lead the boy to reach a decision similar to his own. The article was published, but Cutler blamed, not the editor, but himself for having failed to help the boy to a wiser decision.¹⁴

Insistence on thinking for oneself even in minor matters was one facet of teaching a boy to handle any situation, an emphasis which was a vital part of the Hermon spirit under Cutler. Financially handicapped, most Hermon students must learn to be thoroughly self-reliant if they were to continue through college. Only those who had learned to take the initiative, to use their own judgment, would be prepared for the struggle that awaited them.

In spite of the fact that Cutler's contacts with the boys were few, they soon grew to have a wholesome respect for his ability to keep informed. This proved to be the best deterrent to mischief. One of the faculty wrote that: "When . . . a few . . . unworthy, have . . . made trouble, his ability to discover the wrongdoers has often seemed uncanny."¹⁵ The smallest clue was usually enough for him to draw the correct conclusion and put his finger on a guilty student. Such was his reputation that the boys felt his eyes could see right through them and read their thoughts.

To us undergraduates, he was a searching influence. When we met him in our rooms on his occasional and unexpected visits of inspection or on the campus, we always felt he knew of our sins of omission and commission and we prayed that his keen eye would not see through the thin veil of our confusion sufficiently to ask us to confess our faults.¹⁶

Indeed, many boys found it easier to tell Cutler of their misdemeanors than to go about fearing that at any moment they might be summoned into his presence. Cutler realized this and knew how to capitalize on it.

"Prof" had a weird shrewdness in his handling of the boys and long before the late War, he knew the secret of the war of nerves. In my senior year, about a dozen of us thought it incumbent upon us to teach a chap the ways of Mount Hermon. We put him through some not too gentle hazing processes. We disguised ourselves and thought we were strictly incognito. Shortly after "Prof" called down to his office the President of the Y.M.C.A. whose standing was such that he could not possibly have been in the hazing party, and accused him of it. The accusation was indignantly resented and "Prof" withdrew it. The accused man told us all about it and we began to get nervous. Shortly after, "Prof" called down the Secretary of the Y.M.C.A., made the same accusation which again was indignantly denied. The accused in turn told us about it and we grew still more nervous. "Prof" kept this procedure up for over a month knowing very well that no one of the accused persons would have thought of being part of such a venture.

Everyday we grew more panicky. Finally we could stand it no longer—our nerves gave out. We all got together and went down to "Prof's" office, six seniors and four juniors. We told him he was unjustly accusing some innocent men of a crime which we were guilty of.¹⁷

If the majority of his students found Henry Cutler awesome, those in trouble came to know another facet of his character. Many would agree with one man who wrote: "I never knew the real 'Prof' when I was at Mount Hermon. I only knew the 'Prof' of my own creation."¹⁸ The strict self-discipline of Cutler's own life, his aloofness and austerity, left "many impressions on many minds," but his sincerity, his wisdom, and his evident interest in young men drew them to him in times of stress. And to the boy who turned to him for help, Cutler gave unstintingly of himself. To such as these, as to all who made the slightest effort to seek him out, he was a "warm personal friend."

As might be expected in a school like Mount Hermon, many of the difficulties Cutler was called upon to solve were financial, and not a few graduates could testify: "Without his help it would have been financially impossible for me to go through Mount Hermon. Many other students of this class are indebted to him in the same way."¹⁹ Nor did he wait to be asked for help.

At the expiration of my first term and my savings I went to bid Prof. Cutler good-bye. It did not take him long, with that intellectual corkscrew of his to extract from me the reason why I did not expect to come back to Mount Hermon



WILLIAM R. MOODY, BISHOP DALLAS AND DR. CUTLER

and, when I came “up for air,” one sentence of the things he said to me had registered indelibly—“Go home and enjoy your vacation, and if your parents can spare you for another term, come back here and the payment of your tuition will be arranged.”²⁰

Concern for his “boys” did not by any means end when they left Hermon, for he was always an interested and sympathetic observer of their struggle for an education. To one boy whose situation is reminiscent of Cutler’s own difficult years at Amherst, he wrote:

I have just written to —— about you. I still hope that there can be some arrangement so that you will not have to work so hard physically this year. I wish that your expenses could be taken care of so that you could apply yourself to real college work. You need proper food and sleep especially now that your eyes are giving you some concern. If things do not turn out better for you very soon, I wish you would write me again.²¹

He seemed to have a faculty for being at hand to help in time of need:

I had been promised a scholarship from a man who at the last minute failed to come across. Harvard required a bond of \$400.00 if I were to continue my studies. I knew no one in the United States and was about to quit my courses when the Dean told me they had my bond. He wouldn’t tell me who signed it. Shortly after, I won a fine scholarship which made the bond unnecessary. Then I was told that the bond was signed by “Prof” Henry F. Cutler.²²

Perhaps more important than financial help was the moral backing he gave his students. Intuitively he felt where encouragement was needed, and knew how to give it. One former student, a slow diligent scholar, given to moments of depression and discouragement, vividly remembers being stopped by Cutler one morning on the way to class. “Prof” spoke with him for a moment and then walked on saying, “We expect great things of you, Paul.” The boy never forgot it. It was typical of Cutler to give courage and inspiration by a well-timed remark rather than by lengthy argument.²³ The effect was usually lasting: “. . . there has been the remembrance of encouraging words, encouraging acts, and encouraging hopes expressed by you to me that has pulled me through some spots that were not so cheery. . . . I feel the helpful tug of them every once in a while now, and I imagine I always shall.”²⁴ Even in his chapel talks he was often able to touch each man personally.

While I was a student at Mount Hermon it happened on many occasions that I felt, after being out of school for five years, that the battle to resume my educa-

tion was too much. Many a time in the chapel service Dr. Cutler told in his terse effective way of the manner in which some boy, suffering from tremendous handicaps, had come to Mount Hermon, mastered his school work there and had gone on to a successful and useful life. Again and again this gave me courage to go on. It always seemed to me that Dr. Cutler's keen blue eyes were looking down at me.²⁵

The "penetrating glance" so disturbing to his students was much more often used to help than to confound. Cutler had the ability to penetrate into a boy's life, to understand him, and to see the potential good in him. The faith he showed often gave courage to the faltering.

After mid-course at Mount Hermon, I was thoroughly discouraged. The difficulty of earning enough money to live on, and stay in school, even though I worked every holiday and vacation, preyed upon me, so that my studies were adversely affected. I went to Mr. Cutler and told him I was going to quit, go to work and give up getting any further education. It was just after chapel in Recitation Hall; I had blurted out my troubles to him. He stood and talked to me long past his dinner hour; he would not let me go until he had persuaded me to continue. He saw more in me than I saw in myself. He believed in me when I had lost hope. In my hour of need, he was there. His contagious faith inspired me. I am today largely what I am, because of his understanding and loving heart.²⁶

The same high regard for the individuality of "his" boys that had led Cutler to reorganize the curriculum, was also the basis for his handling of discipline. No case was the same, no procedure could be the same, nor could all problems be judged by a single set of rules. Cutler's first step when he noticed a boy having difficulty, disciplinary, scholastic, or emotional, was usually to call in one by one the masters most likely to know the facts, and find out all he could from them. Two or three weeks later he might hail them on their way to class to ask briefly whether there had been any change in their opinion. In the interval he had had the boy on his mind. Slowly he collected information upon which to base a judgment, adding his own observations, and usually talking with the boy himself.

Cutler's influence on disciplinary action, however it may have seemed to the students, was ever on the side of moderation. In sessions of the Discipline Committee necessitated by serious misdemeanors, he was in the culprit's presence an unmerciful prosecutor. Alone with the committee, however, he was invariably defense attorney, ferreting out any points that might incline its members to clemency.²⁷ He thoroughly disliked having to reprimand

mand or punish any student, a feeling which increased over the years of his principalship. Often when he was forced to speak harshly to a boy, he felt badly enough about it to remark upon it in his diary. This inner reluctance did not stem from fear of a disagreeable situation, however, and when corrective measures were necessary Cutler acted with dispatch. In expelling a boy Cutler never tried to soften the blow, realizing that the good effects of a dismissal would thereby be vitiated. Breaking a rule meant breaking faith with the school, and to mince words about it was to miss an opportunity to teach a boy that one must keep faith in order to lead a successful life. Some of the most loyal Hermon men are those whom Cutler expelled. Most of them needed just such a sharp blow to shake them out of their careless habits. Many who have been successful in later life trace the start of their awakening to their dismissal by Cutler, who himself took particular pleasure in their achievements, and always welcomed them back. He emphasized in dedicating the new school gates that they were always open to Hermon men regardless of the conditions under which they had left the school.

There is hardly an alumnus of Mount Hermon who did not consider Cutler a strict disciplinarian. The problem during his principalship was a difficult one, for the students were not children, but mature men. Since there were always plenty of excellent candidates for any vacancy, the principal had no right to retain those who were not making the most of their stay. The boys hated to be disciplined by Cutler. He had a talent for making his words strike home, and his reprimand was usually an unforgettable experience, “very much like being stretched and whipped.” Even the offenders, however, agree that he was completely fair, showing no partiality, and taking great pains to find out the truth of a situation before making a decision. In several instances, boys, feeling that they were not being treated fairly, resolved to leave school. When this was brought to Cutler’s attention, he would talk to the boy, make his own investigation, and in each instance was able to redress the injustice and persuade its victim to stay. As this reputation grew, there evolved an “awareness of his authority, . . . [a] respect for his judgment and a confidence in his wisdom which . . . ripened into true affection.”²⁸ One alumnus writes:

I never had any run-in with Dr. Cutler but always had a very wholesome respect for him. He could be very sharp on occasion as a matter of emphasis but none of the men, while I was there, were heard to accuse him of being unfair. He was just tough in spots and those were usually moral issues.

And he goes on to describe one of Cutler's chapel talks on stealing:

He did not mince words—If a student was found out to be dishonest he was through, no second chance. Honesty was honesty, there was no reason for any misunderstanding. Then he added "There's no use in educating crooks! They can do more harm with an education than without one." Period! That settled it. I don't think there was any lack of clarity in the minds of any of the fellows as to just where he stood.²⁹

"The lines were drawn more sharply those days," says another graduate, "and the school community had a clearer conception of what was right or wrong and a keener sense and understanding of the fitness of things."

Cutler's very strictness gave great stability to school life, for there was never any doubt in the minds of the students as to what was expected of them. This did not mean that rules could not be cast aside, or leniency shown where the individual case warranted it. Cutler could be "tough" on moral issues, but whenever he saw the least indication of good material in a boy, he was ready to give him a second chance. On one occasion he even relaxed his code about stealing, presenting the case to the whole school instead of immediately expelling the culprit: "Now this boy is very sorry and promises never to do this again. He is young. What shall we do? Shall we send him away or allow him to stay?"³⁰ Though Cutler must himself have been disposed toward clemency, he felt that it was only fair to consult the boys, who were much involved. For him to discuss school problems with the student body was not unusual. It was, rather, a natural extension of his placing control of conduct in the students' hands, as he had done through the dormitory associations and later through the student council. Most minor infractions were treated with great leniency and understanding. One boy, caught returning to his dormitory after hours, was only asked his name and then bid "Goodnight." "I never heard of the matter again, but there was a twinkle in Doc's eye when next I met him on the campus."³¹ One fine afternoon, a Canadian boy who knew animal calls spotted the dairy gang driving the cattle up from the lower pasture near the school buildings, and on an impulse

. . . got a megaphone and standing in his Cottage 4 window, gave the inviting love call of a bull. The cows first raised their heads to get the direction and then stampeded across the athletic field and surrounded the Cottage mooing and looking up. . . . "Prof" saw the excitement from his office . . . and rushed up the hill. — did not see him and continued his calls until someone yelled at him

and he looked down. There among the cattle but not mooing was "Prof." All of us expected — to get a severe reprimand and so did —. But all "Prof" said to him was, "You must have learned your business well up in that Canadian farm of yours but don't practice down here anymore." We all thought "Prof" was a real sport.³²

Another Canadian who did not show up for his classes was called into the principal's office.

"Were you sick yesterday?"

"No sir, of course not."

"Why, of course not," interrupted "Prof."

"Why, don't you know," answered —, "yesterday was the 24th of May, the Queen's birthday."

"Prof" looked at him for a moment and said, "All right, I am only sorry that this school is closed here the Fourth of July."³³

Stern personal control and strict rules, combined with Cutler's belief that the latter should be interpreted according to the individual case, made for a school discipline described as

. . . curiously elastic and demanding at the same time. It was maintained both by individual supervision and the pressure of the system. The boys were kept too busy to get into too much trouble. If they "fitted" they were kept on often with an almost excess of patience. If they did not "fit" they were screened out. But considering the sources from which the students were drawn, the percentage of loss was surprisingly small. . . . Mr. Cutler did not like lies, or liars. One could, he thought, go a long way with a boy who told the truth. But there was little to build on otherwise.³⁴

Cutler was the type of man whose very presence inspired respect. When he entered a room filled with students, silence immediately prevailed. In chapel, whenever there seemed to be too much coughing and clearing of throats, a look from him brought more cures than a carload of cough syrup. Still vivid to many former students is the memory of Cutler moving forward on the platform of the chapel, resting one elbow on the lectern, and seeming to look straight at each one of them, as he said: "I wouldn't do that. I wouldn't do that," thus expressing his displeasure about some recent occurrence. Such was the force of his leadership, that seldom if ever was the misdeed committed again. Sometimes he would stand before the whole student body and ask that the guilty ones report to his office. Again it was rare that they did not do so, perhaps because everyone knew that an immediate and frank admission of a mistake most often met with understanding mixed

with sympathy. The honest, straightforward answer always carried great weight with Cutler. One day a boy came to him with an alibi for failing to do something, and Cutler objected: "I don't think that is a good excuse." Whereupon the boy answered, "It is all the excuse I have. Do you want me to make up one?" "Prof" appreciated the joke and forgave him.³⁵

Cutler seldom disciplined a boy in front of other people. When he did so, it was with the purpose in mind of instructing the others as well, and in this he tried to limit himself to matters of manners. On finding a student eating candy in a class he was visiting, he then and there administered a reproof which both the offender and his classmates felt was too harsh, but the lesson stuck, and was never forgotten, and in after years the boy came to believe that Cutler had used the incident to teach the others as well as himself. Cutler was a firm believer in the importance of punctuality. Perhaps the most telling way of impressing this was at the chapel service, when a boy would try to sneak in late unobserved. Spotting him immediately, Cutler would say: "'Shall we all wait a moment while Mr. — takes his seat.' The silence would be complete as the whole school turned to watch the culprit slide into his seat. This boy at least never tried it again and it was in fact a rare occurrence."³⁶

One of his students, who himself later became a headmaster, has written of an incident that made a lasting impression.

What a power he had over his boys. I recall one chapel service when two mischievous boys, learning that an unpopular minister was scheduled to preach, planted an alarm clock under the pulpit. When the service began, to the dismay of those who were in on the prank, behold there stepped into the pulpit, not the one for whom the discourtesy was intended, but the school's most popular and revered minister. The alarm clock went off at the scheduled time. Without hesitation Dr. Cutler got up from his pew on the side of the church, stopped the service, took his place on the platform and to the hushed and startled audience said in a clear voice, "I want the boy who planted that alarm clock to stand up." There was a deathly silence, no response. Dr. Cutler again repeated his demand without avail. For the third and last time, "I want that boy to stand up." And he stood up. How many of us would have cared to risk our standing in such a situation. Yet Dr. Cutler knew his boys and they respected him even in the most acute and trying situations. When he reprimanded a boy, that boy never repeated the error or forgot the experience.³⁷

It always distressed Cutler when a trying situation caused him to reprimand a student publicly, and when he felt he had gone too far he had the

courage publicly to admit his error. In 1920 a presidential candidate on a campaign tour was to stop at the Mount Hermon railroad station.

At lunch Doctor Cutler asked for a showing of hands of those who would care to cut classes and make up the work "hour" to see the gentleman. The hands were raised. Doc took a rapid count and said, ". . . I am sorry there are not enough hands showing to make it possible."

A big blond Apollo . . . who probably was not prepared for a class let out a big, unescapable, and disappointed "Ah—" so long, so loud it could be heard over all of West Hall. Doc was angry and his face showed it. He said, "I want the man who said that to stand up."

Quite some pause followed and then the embarrassed Apollo stood up. Doc looked hard and carefully at him but without comment returned to his seat at the faculty table.

At the *beginning* of Chapel next day, Doc said, "I should like to apologize to the boy whom I embarrassed at lunch yesterday; and now we'll sing hymn no. 233."³⁸

On one occasion he lost his temper in a meeting with the officers of a graduating class who had come to discuss a recent change in the school's policy. Described by one of its members as obstreperous, the class had given Cutler trouble before, having argued every change that he made in the rules, and evidently the latest complaint was the last straw. When later in the day Cutler met one of the class officers who had been unable to attend the meeting, he told him how happy he was that at least one man had not heard him.

The difficulty he had with this particular class was fairly typical, and indicative of a trait peculiar to him. Cutler seldom explained his actions or decisions, believing that explanations were arguments, which he detested. Open to all opinions and criticism before he made a decision, he considered further talk a waste of time once he had made up his mind. Keeping his own council in this way left his actions open to misinterpretations, which were all the more damaging because, unwavering in his dislike of explanations, he never defended himself. It is interesting that this, too, was one of D. L. Moody's cardinal principles.

One of the most inflexible rules of the school was that which prohibited smoking. Forbidden in other preparatory schools as well, during the years Cutler was principal, smoking was a habit which Moody abhorred and which Cutler continued to oppose. For many years, boys who came to Hermon signed a pledge that they would not smoke as long as they were enrolled, which included the times when they were away on vacations. This

last part of the agreement was difficult to enforce, but cigarettes and cigars do leave their marks on inveterate smokers. Cutler acquired over the years the reputation for being able to spot the students who had been smoking with his first welcoming handshake, from the stains on their hands or the pungent odor of their clothes. A student found smoking was usually expelled. The offense that was serious, in Cutler's eyes, was that the boy had broken faith with the school. Smoking, to him, was not in itself a moral offense, but breach of a contract was an indication that a boy's solemn pledge could not be depended upon, that the boy himself was weak and not worth the investment he represented. For some of the older students who had been smoking for many years, and could not be expected to give up the habit immediately, Cutler showed great sympathy, and on occasion he was known to have found them work hour jobs off school grounds, that they might more gradually break themselves. He considered smoking a filthy and wasteful habit, and as always he made his position perfectly clear. Years after students had left Hermon, it still made them uncomfortable to smoke in his presence. One man describes an unexpected visit from Cutler at his New York office.

I had just lit a cigarette. I looked up and there was "Prof." The old Mount Hermon fear came back and instinctively I dropped the cigarette to the floor. He smiled broadly as we shook hands. I said, "Dr. Cutler, you can see I am still scared to smoke before you!"³⁹

Another, who enjoyed a close friendship with Cutler after his graduation, writes that smoking in his presence "somehow gave me an uncomfortable feeling," and he adds:

One day on the golf course while playing with Dr. Cutler my game was not so good. He must have observed my pipe bulging in the pocket and with that well remembered twinkle and smile appearing he poked me in the ribs and said, "Why don't you take it out and light up? It may help your game."⁴⁰

Cutler did not believe that anything as intangible as character could be taught directly by anything he or his teachers had to say. Teaching the boys how to lead better lives never took precedence in his mind over teaching them their lessons, for "character" was not something that could be isolated from the rest of one's activities. The aim of the school was the preparation of men for college, and this in turn, Cutler felt, was the best training the school could give for life. If the education at Hermon was good, he reasoned,

then the influence of life at Hermon on the students would be good. Their education should come from the school as a whole, and not from any single man, or course, or activity. "Thus the very school itself becomes in many ways almost a liberal education to those who study here. Many a Mount Hermon boy has caught in these surroundings the inspiration of his future work in life."⁴¹ Partly, this attitude stemmed from Cutler's own innate humility. Never did he thrust himself forward. More often he tried to cover up his own part in the life of the school, and never was he happier than when he was told that one of his students had received inspiration from the work and attention of another teacher. Indeed, many would agree with the student who declared that Cutler "was some man—but my inspiration came from less awesome persons"—a point of view which would have pleased no one more than Cutler himself.⁴²

The nature of his inspiration, though unmistakable, was less intimate. "How little of what he said from time to time, by way of advice, or from righteous indignation, do we remember, but those of us who worked and lived with him, still feel the strong current of sincerity and conviction which ran through all of his philosophy and utterances."⁴³ His words, spoken over and over again in hundreds of different situations, added up to his tradition and what he believed to be Moody's ideals. This tradition became in the last analysis the school's.

The essence of Cutler's influence, according to one student, was instilling in his boys the importance of living according to certain standards. These were, to lead a Spartan-like life, that is, not to indulge one's desire for luxury, to keep one's aims high, to win self-control through continual self-discipline, always to do a better job than is asked or expected. "The practical side of Dr. Cutler cannot be very well forgotten when a tiny voice, even in these later years, recalls the vibrant voice from the chapel platform admonishing us boys to play fair and square. What a splendid legacy to leave his boys."⁴⁴ It is all the more amazing that a philosophy as simple as that should have been so accepted by men who had certainly seen enough of life to be cynical. Partly, perhaps, it was "the quiet earnestness which ran like a strong current through the heart of everything he said," or his constant reiteration of the aims of the school.⁴⁵ To an alumni audience in 1926 he said: "It will be our aim to teach . . . a reverence for truth and uprightness and the observance of the Ten Commandments and the ways of living right."⁴⁶ Constantly he admonished his boys, " . . . you must be men who hold the

standards of life high, and if you are living in any lower plane than that you must be dissatisfied with yourself, because you are not up to the standard Hermon expects of you, nor the standard with which you yourself are satisfied." And he added, describing an attitude both dear to him and characteristic of him, ". . . I am just hoping that you will keep the buoyancy and the energy and the spirit of a boy and of youth, and that you will take into life with you everywhere even as the years come to you, that same spirit of bravery and chivalry."⁴⁷ The secret, of course, was that to such rules of life he gave flesh and blood, and it was because he lived them that they shaped the lives of those about him.

There was more to his philosophy than buoyancy and exacting standards. The motive force lay elsewhere.

Is it worth while to live unless there is love in the heart? Take back to your home, to your work with you the love that made all this possible, and let it be wrought out in the work that you do in the coming years, that the beginnings of this school may be crowned with the success that love in your heart to your fellow men may give to each one of you.⁴⁸

Typical of Cutler's spirit is this emphasis on directing one's efforts to be of service to others. First there must be "love in the heart," warm sympathy that inspires confidence in the troubled. Cutler's office in Holbrook Hall was always open to anyone who wanted to talk with him. At any time of day he could easily be reached. Many important conferences between principal and pupil were held in his vegetable garden, or between classes, or after chapel. Always he talked to the boys as equals, man to man, and many a puzzled and discouraged youth gathered from him the strength to continue toward a goal that had seemed unattainable. A "counsel-bearing man," one former student calls him, using Homer's phrase, and he adds: "A few sentences spoken from rich experience have thrown light upon vexing problems."⁴⁹ Often men would write to him later, thanking him.

Those of us who in our problems visited you, and unburdened our hearts, and voiced our aspirations to you, know how sure and sincere was the counsel you gave. Many of us can now look back to such a conference with a warming heart glow of appreciation for words of comfort and hope.⁵⁰

It was his ability to immerse himself selflessly in the lives of the different students, the discouraged, the homesick, those in trouble, that made his help and counsel so fruitful.

One trait which never failed to impress all those who came in contact with him was his great modesty, which stemmed from a deep humility, and which was at the root of the directness and artlessness that colored all his actions and words.

Mr. Cutler is a truly great man. I wish I had time to tell you at length of his faith in God, his tireless energy, his grasp of details, his interest in individual boys—all covered by a quiet modesty which often causes him to be misjudged and to make people think he is merely a common man after all.⁵¹

Indeed, one of the reasons his standpoint was so often misinterpreted, was that he was not a showman, and that he avoided attracting attention to himself.⁵² Perhaps it is, as one Mount Hermon teacher suggests, the very key to his greatness that "he never claimed anything for himself."⁵³

Cutler's humbleness lay revealed in his everyday manners. Insisting that everyone else be comfortable and happy, he would invariably be the man to stand if there were not enough chairs. His mind on others, he placed himself last. The essentials of politeness and thoughtfulness had been instilled in him at an early age by his mother and father, and he tried to impress their importance on the country boys who came to Mount Hermon. Few will forget Cutler's lectures on table manners given in West Hall.

Cutler was often thought to be insensitive, because he seldom expressed his feelings. They were implicit in his actions. People accustomed to judging by words rather than by actions often found him cold and unsympathetic. His own reticence added to this impression, for he never wanted it to appear that he was doing a praiseworthy thing. Yet when something needed to be done he acted. In periods of crisis Cutler dealt with people and problems personally and immediately. When the father of a faculty member died, Cutler appeared at his home within an hour, saying: "I am here to do what you want to have done. I am here to do your wish." But he did not write. Upon another occasion, he observed a teacher working under great physical and emotional strain, trying to carry on his job at Hermon while at the same time supervising the care of an invalid mother. Without explanation, he arranged for the man to take a leave of absence, never intimating that he was doing anything special, or that he was kind to keep the position open, or that the teacher was causing the school great inconvenience. Cutler was only doing what he felt was right. This was his rule—to do what he believed was right and what was best for the school. Acting upon this principle without explanation, he was often misunderstood.⁵⁴

He was eminently not a politician, and although this was to injure him while he was corporator and trustee of the Northfield Schools at a trying period in their history, his directness proved a strength in running Mount Hermon and in handling the students. Two incidents in the life of a Mount Hermon graduate will serve as illustration.

In the middle of my first year at School, I ran out of money. Not having the carfare home I scurried around looking for a job to keep me temporarily. Dr. Cutler called me into his office and questioned me about my affairs. When he learned that I had no money and no prospect of getting any, he asked bluntly, "When are you going home?" . . . [the boy later returned and graduated.]

Years later when my sight was failing fast, I met Dr. Cutler at a dinner in Hartford. He mentioned my eyes and, prompted by his keen interest in things medical, asked: "How much can you see?" and "Can you see me?" There was no effort to soften his inquiries or to dally sentimentally over the matter—just forthright interrogation for information. And if I had to talk about it at all, his was the way I preferred. I don't set down the foregoing as evidence that he was unsympathetic—genuine sympathy is often unexpressed—and I had no use for sympathy anyway. To my mind it simply illustrates how, in examining anything, he probed straight for the essential fact. Furthermore he had the gift for being direct in a sensitive situation without leaving a sting.⁵⁵

Students and teachers who knew him during his forty-two years as principal, agreed that it was the quiet force of his own life that had molded the school, and left its impress upon all those who came in touch with him. Perhaps not all would go so far as to say,

. . . he stands for all of us the embodiment of mental, moral and physical strength and integrity. The spiritual depth of his life and his utter dependence upon God in all the experiences which life can bring are the foundation and source of his unfailing strength.⁵⁶

But the character of this man had forced them to reassess the standards by which they lived, and in so doing to lift their aims and aspirations to higher levels.

MOUNT HERMON

LAST YEARS AS PRINCIPAL

1917-1932

WITHIN three months of Cutler's return from his mission in Belgium, the United States declared war on Germany. The impact was soon felt at Mount Hermon, where the character of the school was determined largely by the unique character of the student body. Until 1917 the average age had been over twenty, and the minimum age for entrance sixteen. The heavy demand on young men for the active waging of battle cut deeply into the numbers already enrolled, and made an even greater inroad on those seeking admission. The influx of returning veterans at the war's end concealed for a while another parallel movement, of even greater significance: the rapid increase and easy availability of night schools, public high school training at night, and the consequent decline in the importance of Mount Hermon as the only school open to older needy students. The post-war period, a lush and easy one for the great majority of independent schools was one of great difficulty for Mount Hermon, and called upon all Cutler's powers as an administrator and educator. It was a decade and a half of stress and change that demanded wholly new answers and techniques.

Cutler did not make his 1917 report to the Trustees until late in the fall. By that time he was able to chronicle the immediate effects of the war on Mount Hermon. "The war has made its draft upon our students, and the numbers have been reduced in consequence." Uncertain as to the extent of the draft's inroads on prospective students, Cutler was unable to formulate any definite plans during the spring and summer. The pressure of "a considerable number of applications from boys under sixteen," however, plus a sharp decline in those from the older age group, combined to make him accept, reluctantly, twenty-five younger boys. He was careful to state

that these exceptions were made only "in cases where the boy seemed to be mature physically and intellectually." Despite this measure, the fall term opened for the first time in history with vacancies in some of the dormitories. As a first result, the teaching force had to be reduced, but this was easily and naturally accomplished as many left for war service.¹

In general, the routine of school life was little changed by the war. To give the students, especially those from farming communities, a longer period of uninterrupted time for work, the summer vacation was lengthened by cutting down on the interim between the fall and winter, and the winter and spring terms. The school itself planted ten more acres of potatoes, and more land was given over to vegetables. During the winter, lack of fuel forced the closing of several buildings, including the gymnasium, chapel, library, and Camp Hall. The Cutlers closed up Ford Cottage and moved into Crossley. In the fall of 1918, the influenza epidemic, then sweeping the rest of the country, struck the school. Camp Hall was turned into an auxiliary infirmary to supplement Dwight's Home. Fortunately "most of the teachers escaped sickness and the work of the class rooms was continued uninterruptedly." All but one of the victims recovered.

During the three terms of the year 1917-1918, the number of new students dropped more than fifty percent, while at the same time the percentage of applicants under sixteen rose. Cutler "found that very few men of eighteen or nineteen years of age would start again a neglected education with the draft age so soon to follow." Very few already in school could be persuaded to stay on. The draft was not the only factor involved. "The opportunities for work at high wages have attracted many of our students both present and prospective."

By the spring of 1918, the school was receiving practically no applications from men of draft age, and Cutler was obliged to admit younger students in large numbers, rather than continue Mount Hermon for the duration of the war as a small school. In the academic year 1918-1919, of a total of 472 boys, there were 176 under sixteen, and 45 under fourteen.

Younger students had not been admitted to Mount Hermon for over thirty-three years, and Cutler had never seen them on the "Hill" during his twenty-seven years as principal. In his own mind, and in his conversations with his colleagues, he held firmly to the conception of Mount Hermon as D. L. Moody intended it, a place where older boys might resume their interrupted educations. As soon as conditions allowed, he would reinvoke

the minimum age rule. To Cutler "the appearance of the younger boys seemed foreign to Mount Hermon," and he had his misgivings as to the wisdom of admitting them, although many of them did excellent work. It became evident at once that they presented different problems in education.

The difference in the type of mind of these younger students as compared with the older . . . students has also necessitated a different method of instruction in the class rooms. We may miss the maturity of mind of the older students but we have, on the other hand, the quickness and receptiveness of the younger mind in these younger students.²

One of the more difficult tasks was to adjust the work-hour jobs to the physical capabilities of the younger boys, who had neither the strength nor the stamina to handle the heavier work.

Though the enforced interlude proved pleasant and even stimulating, Cutler found it difficult to restrain his joy, when, with the end of the war, the soldiers began returning. "The school at once felt their influence and began again to take on its former characteristics." Their added maturity and seriousness of purpose seemed to bring to Mount Hermon new spiritual vigor. With the fall of 1919, the dormitories were once again filled to overflowing, and Cutler could report:

We have returned to the pre-war regulation of taking only those who were sixteen years of age and over. Over 80 soldier boys have been registered during the year [1919-1920]. We retained the boys under sixteen who had been accepted during the war years.

The younger boys, who had been so numerous and seemed to make of Mount Hermon a different school, now became "outnumbered, and . . . inconspicuous." It was with a sense of relief that Cutler noted: "The school seemed to be and really was Mount Hermon again. . . . The tone of the school was different from the very opening day."³

It was not only because Moody envisaged Mount Hermon as a school for older boys that Cutler was so anxious to keep it that way. Mount Hermon had been unique, not because of its work hour, or its religious basis, but because it answered needs which no other school was equipped to handle. Its great field of service lay in educating the older student. As soon as the age limit was permanently lowered, it would become much like any other independent boarding school. Cutler was not afraid to face such changes; but as

long as the group existed, for whom Mount Hermon was founded, he would continue to answer their needs.

The happy situation of having enough older boys to fill the school lasted little more than two years. As soon as the veterans had been taken care of, applications from the advanced age group dropped off sharply. By the fall of 1922, there were again vacancies in the dormitories. Cutler was particularly concerned, because during the preceding year he had seen to it that considerable publicity had been given to the possibilities offered at Mount Hermon. A circular had been sent to the alumni, and to the subscription list of the *Record of Christian Work*, and in addition posters had been mailed to YMCAs, Community House Centers, and the Salvation Army. This activity was completely foreign to both Cutler and the school, which, from its very inception, had been faced with the opposite problem of an overabundance of applicants.

It was evident that publicity, although helpful, was by no means a solution to the difficulty Mount Hermon faced. Cutler, with the aid of faculty committees and the Alumni Council, set to work studying the situation. In his report to the Trustees in 1932, he gave some of the reasons they had found for the great decrease in applications from the older boys, a source that prior to the war seemed inexhaustible. Primarily, "the large increase in the number of public schools and particularly high schools, together with compulsory education up to a certain age at public expense, must certainly have had its effect in the education of the youth of this generation." There were no longer those "girls braiding hats on a remote New England hillside who have not had the opportunity to go to school," and who had first inspired D. L. Moody to help them. The YMCAs, too, no longer sent as many students, because "practically all associations at the present time have educational departments which provide opportunities for the further education of young men." State-provided correspondence courses, free evening classes in cities and larger towns, and to some extent in the smaller country towns, were other factors. Mount Hermon had even lost some men to other privately endowed schools which offered them full scholarships.

Another compelling reason was the change in labor conditions and demands.

Young men of the age of twenty, which is the average of Mount Hermon students, are able to command high wages. We desire young men of earnest pur-

pose, good ability and good character. These are just the kind of men who at the present time always are sought for in commerce, manufacturing, in construction work, in business of every kind. The remuneration they receive is large and the call and necessity for preparatory school education seem to them indistinct and remote. Most young men of this age will decide to remain at their work, and the number of such students applying for admission here is necessarily diminished.⁴

It was Cutler's reluctant conclusion that the minimum age limit of sixteen years must be lowered "at least one year and in certain cases of maturity perhaps more. This would meet the needs of many boys who finish their grade work in their early teens and who may not have good opportunities for secondary school work." The age limit must be such that a boy could come to Mount Hermon immediately upon completing his grammar school work; if he were barred by his youth, he would seek an education elsewhere. Mount Hermon should eventually become a regular preparatory school, and the young man for whom it had been run since 1884 would be the exception. Cutler was firm, however, in stating that "there should be no barriers nor limits which would shut out from this school boys or young men of earnest purpose and good character who otherwise would not have the opportunities which we must provide at Mount Hermon."⁵ In a note to the graduates, Cutler reasserted: "The School is not primarily for those who have good homes and good opportunities in the public schools of our great land."⁶

The change was not accomplished at one blow, but younger boys gradually filled the increasing gap left by the decreasing number of older boys. Cutler disliked admitting the younger boys, and did so only because there was no other way to make full use of the school. For three or more years the change was kept on an experimental basis.

We have tried the experiment the past year of admitting a few boys under sixteen . . . who seemed mature enough to meet the requirements of the school. We reluctantly recommend now that the lower age limit for entrance to Mount Hermon School be fifteen years with possible exceptions for fourteen year old boys who are fitted to enter so-called high school work.⁷

He spoke of being "forced into the necessity of admitting students of the lower age." This was written as late as 1926, and yet two years later in another letter to the alumni he showed where his heart still belonged:

We do not object to the admission of students under sixteen if they are mature and really need the school. On the other hand we do hope that Mount Hermon will

always be a school for older boys who have not had the full opportunity for an education when they were younger.⁸

It had become apparent to Cutler by the summer of 1923 that a fundamental change in the make-up of the school was inevitable, yet he had ostensibly done little about it at the end of another five years. There were two major reasons for acting slowly. First, there still were enough older students to keep the school three-quarters full. Second, Cutler had always governed his administrative actions with a minimum of fuss, and a constant regard for what would eventually be the best arrangement for Hermon. Consequently, he made slowly any changes that bored as deeply into the life of the school as this one inevitably would. The traditional climate of Mount Hermon could best be preserved by avoiding abrupt moves. He did not want two distinctly different groups of students, but a tranquil fusion of the two, to make a single and united student body.

In addition to these two more practical reasons, there were others which touched at the heart of Mount Hermon. There was Cutler's loyalty to Moody, which had expressed itself in his every word and deed since he had become principal. Cutler's own sympathies lay in the same direction. His conviction had been built up over many years, in which he had closely watched thousands of young men, matured by the struggle of making their own way in life, come to the "Hill" and fight to gain an education that would allow them to live upon a "higher level." The character of the mature students had helped make the school great, and their loyalty to it had been responsible in a large part for its continuing existence. A third force was the pressure of the graduates, who had received so much from Hermon and wanted her to continue educating men of similar background.

It was a time of flux. Running through Cutler's reports to the Trustees in the 1920's, is the question of whether the constantly increasing tuition was not perhaps one reason for the lack of applications from older students. In 1923, he had increased the number of jobs for those working their way, and had suggested that the governing board of the Northfield Schools aid him in setting up even more. It is extremely doubtful whether, by the late twenties, even the original tuition of fifty dollars a term would have attracted the type of man that Cutler wanted. Tuition had not increased any more radically than the cost of living would indicate. Moody's idea that the students should meet half the cost of their education, was practical in the years before 1900, but became less so in the twentieth century, with the

rapid increase of state and federal aid to education. Mount Hermon could not compete with free schools. Even though its expense was far below the average, it was still beyond the means of many who were "exactly the kind of boys Mr. D. L. Moody had in mind for Mount Hermon."⁹

The question of finances and the nature of the student body were closely interwoven. Cutler himself expressed some of the problems that faced him in 1928.

Shall we raise our tuition rates and come into competition with other schools, retaining always the emphasis on religious and Christian training?

Shall we offer special financial or scholarship aid to those who are deserving or needy?

Some feel that there is still a sufficient number of mature youths who need Mount Hermon and that they would fill the school to overflowing if the tuition were reduced to one hundred dollars a term.

Others feel that the required work system should be given up, and that all work should be paid for, thus reducing the cost to those students who desire work. . . .

Still another plan is that a full charge of \$225 per term should be made for students able to pay this, and that the expenses of needy students be reduced by scholarship assistance or other financial aid. This plan would set aside the condition referring to students able to attend more expensive schools.¹⁰

Cutler even went so far as to relay the suggestion that there might be more applications if Mount Hermon introduced outside athletics. This was a subject that everyone had supposed closed from the day Moody outlawed interscholastic competition in 1897. Cutler himself had never allowed more than a cursory discussion of the subject, and once cut off abruptly an attempt by the graduates to modify his attitude. A final suggestion was that the abolition of the three term system might increase the enrollment. This last proposal was acted upon the following year, with graduation day, July 29, 1929, marking the end of a system which had been set up in 1899, primarily to cope with the huge numbers of men awaiting admission. Its usefulness had ended, and with its elimination, Cutler was surprised to note, came a great increase in the number of applications for the fall term.

The conviction grew in his mind that only with permanent financial support could the school hold its tuition down. When a drive was launched for a large permanent endowment fund to give more stability to the administration of the Northfield Schools, Cutler gave liberally of his time and energy, going about the country and speaking at alumni gatherings.

The curriculum, which had evolved during the middle period of Cutler's

principalship, suffered only slight alterations in his last fifteen years as head of Mount Hermon. German was dropped during the war years, because there was no demand for it. Cutler hesitated to introduce Spanish in its place, as other schools had done, because he hoped that the trend would swing back after the war, and that he could reintroduce German. A knowledge of German, he believed, was a necessary tool for anyone who wanted to go beyond a rudimentary understanding of basic subjects. The agriculture courses died a natural death in 1926. "Our curriculum is still simplified," Cutler wrote two years later. "We teach only those subjects which may be used in entering college. Bible study is required of all students. Drill in vocal music is held one day each week and public concerts are given twice each year."¹¹ Cutler held that in preparing a student for college he was giving him "a thorough preparation for the work of life." In fact, in 1921 the faculty voted to allow a student to submit only one unit in "so called vocational subjects" toward graduation.¹² In the fall of 1920, the Otis Group Intelligence Tests were introduced, and Cutler found them helpful in gaining a better estimate of the ability of the students. His interest in these statistics was increased by the information he gained from compiling results over five and ten year periods. That group which scored highest on the tests, had fifty per cent fewer marks in conduct. The older boy, twenty or over, generally had lower scores than those under twenty.

During the school year 1926-1927, a survey was made of the Northfield Schools by the Institute of Educational Research of Teachers' College, Columbia University.¹³ This study was of an entirely different type and caliber from that made of Mount Hermon alone, by Harvard in 1893-1894. The Harvard report was an intensive study of teaching problems, made by men who were highly-trained specialists in their fields of knowledge, and who had been teaching for a number of years. Little interested in statistics, they relied almost entirely upon their personal evaluation of the school and its staff, in the light of their own experience. The Columbia group had a core of men trained in the field of education, assisted by a much larger group (21) of untrained and inexperienced graduate students, whose job was to collect statistics. Their report is chiefly valuable for its many tables of figures. Although they drew a fairly accurate picture of the bone structure of the school, they failed to put any flesh and blood on their skeleton. The spirit, life, and purpose, of Mount Hermon eluded them. To Cutler and his faculty who had hoped to receive the type of help and advice that had proved such

an inspiration to their teaching in 1894, the Columbia report was deeply disappointing. So palpably did it miss the mark, that Cutler found it difficult to salvage its few helpful suggestions. An expensive investment, it had paid the smallest dividends.

Among the criticisms of the various departments, there were several which Cutler found worth dwelling on. To the History Department, he mentioned that the survey felt there was not enough student participation in classes. The report called for a more "socialized recitation"—a comment popular in the 1920's. This same criticism applied also to the English Department, where the teaching method of questions and answers, often used, was branded as archaic. The suggestion for an outside reading program in English he found good. The Mathematics Department was called upon to keep their instruction "more practical"—in closer touch with everyday life, in order to arouse the pupils to some constructive thinking. As to the teaching of languages and the Bible course, the report had little to offer that was not already in practice at Mount Hermon.

In requesting a survey, the Northfield Schools had hoped for a solution to their current problems, brought about by a period of radical changes in the student body, already described in this chapter. The Columbia investigators had little to offer, beyond a proposal to "extend the work of the . . . [school] to include two years of college work."¹⁴ They did, however, draw an interesting picture of the development and rapid growth of junior colleges, particularly in the middle and far west, where the state universities were finding it difficult to meet the demands of the greatly increased number of students." Serious consideration was given to whether Mount Hermon should enter this field of education, receiving those graduates of public high schools, who could neither afford to go to a privately endowed college, nor gain entrance to a state university. Most of the discussion, however, centered upon the age at which boys should be admitted below sixteen, and the accompanying problem of adjusting the curriculum. The conclusion strengthened Cutler's growing conviction that Mount Hermon should take the bulk of its students straight from grammar school.

As an impartial appraisal of Mount Hermon near the end of Cutler's principalship, the survey is interesting. The faculty received high praise. Commenting upon Cutler's statement that a teacher should have "inspiring personality, vigorous health, and high moral character" the Columbia group remarked: "These are sound requirements. Contact with the teachers . . .

has led the members of the survey staff to conclude that the teachers probably measure up to these requirements in a high degree." As to morale, the visitors "were particularly impressed with the excellent spirit of the teaching staff. Faith and enthusiasm in the task at hand permeated the classroom, and carried over to the student body to a remarkable degree." In conclusion, they found the faculty "admirably equipped to guide, counsel, and advise." Yet in 1926 the mean salary, including an estimated figure for the value of a home, was only \$1,406. "The salary scale, when compared with . . . schools of similar size and importance is not high; indeed, considering the heavy load of duties which the teachers carry, it is low." Here was one of the most serious problems facing Cutler, in his efforts to build and hold a first-rate faculty. Remarkably enough, the survey also found the average length of service to be twenty years. Mount Hermon, therefore, rated "high in the length of . . . [the teachers'] experience." Evidently Cutler had achieved a marked degree of stability. Perhaps, as the report suggests, the compensation had "been chiefly in the joy of the work itself."¹⁵

When it came to the student body, the Columbia staff showed extraordinary lack of imagination, apparently judging Mount Hermon by the same standards as other schools. Their suggestion that there should be increased vocational instruction, indicated their failure to see that most of Mount Hermon's students had left trades in order to take up academic subjects. These young men wanted, not to learn a trade, but to read faster and more comprehensively, to express themselves more clearly, and to earn in the shortest possible time enough credits for college entrance. The survey staff were puzzled because the students conducted themselves in what they termed "an unusually orderly manner. Wherever they were observed in classroom, dining room and chapel, and as they moved about the grounds, their behavior was exceptionally good. To those accustomed to observe many schools, their docility seemed almost unnatural." Even in 1926-1927, only a fifth of the school body was under sixteen, and the average age was over nineteen, a fact that the survey had itself ascertained, yet they seemed to expect the frolicking of small boys. As they also had found, young men who were responsible for all or part of their support made up a high percentage of the student body, and were certain to influence its behavior. The school was still unique in many ways, and obviously on the point of self-discipline comparisons were misleading.¹⁶

Turning to Cutler's own office—which they described as "well organized

for efficient administration"—the Columbia staff raised the question, some what indefinitely, of whether the committee organization might be "so elaborate as to be wasteful," and carried this point no further. In their opinion, Cutler did not leave himself enough time for his own reading, and for the supervision of the instruction to insure its continuing improvement. Listing, very generally, the activities included in one of Cutler's typical days, they found half an hour to an hour given to discipline; interviews with parents and pupils one and a half to two hours; interviews with teachers a half to one hour; chapel twenty-five minutes, and correspondence one to three hours. In addition, there might be attendance on the sick, meetings with dormitory heads, committee meetings, conferences on the clubs and athletics. In making this criticism, the survey group seems to have overlooked the statements of Cutler's own staff, and the numerous and periodical entries in records of teachers meetings or the official school diary, which show that Cutler constantly emphasized new developments in educational thought, and gave encouragement to the teachers to improve their intellectual tools. It was Cutler's continuing scholarly interests that gave Mount Hermon a stimulating intellectual climate. The faculty were urged to take their sabbaticals regularly for further study and rest.¹⁷

Another criticism was that the school drew its students from the same economic level. Such a situation, the survey declared, "makes against a really democratic school life." Here again, their conclusion seems to show a peculiar lack of understanding of the aim of Mount Hermon: to educate only those boys who could not afford another school. To judge it by other schools was to lose sight of Moody's purpose in founding it.

Perhaps the Columbia staff purposely judged Mount Hermon by the usual standards, intending to convey to its leaders that its era of usefulness as an unique institution was over, and that they should face the future equipped to serve as any other preparatory school. If this was their intention, the implication in the report is not clear. The fact that in some cases—as for instance their amazement at the students' "docility"—they patently failed to weigh their material, would lead one to believe that their failure to assess the value of Mount Hermon was equally unintentional.

As a catalytic agent, Cutler found the report did have some effect. For one thing, it stimulated a number of valuable discussions among the faculty. For another, the very fact that outsiders, trained in the newest educational methods and ideas, were at Mount Hermon off and on for an entire school

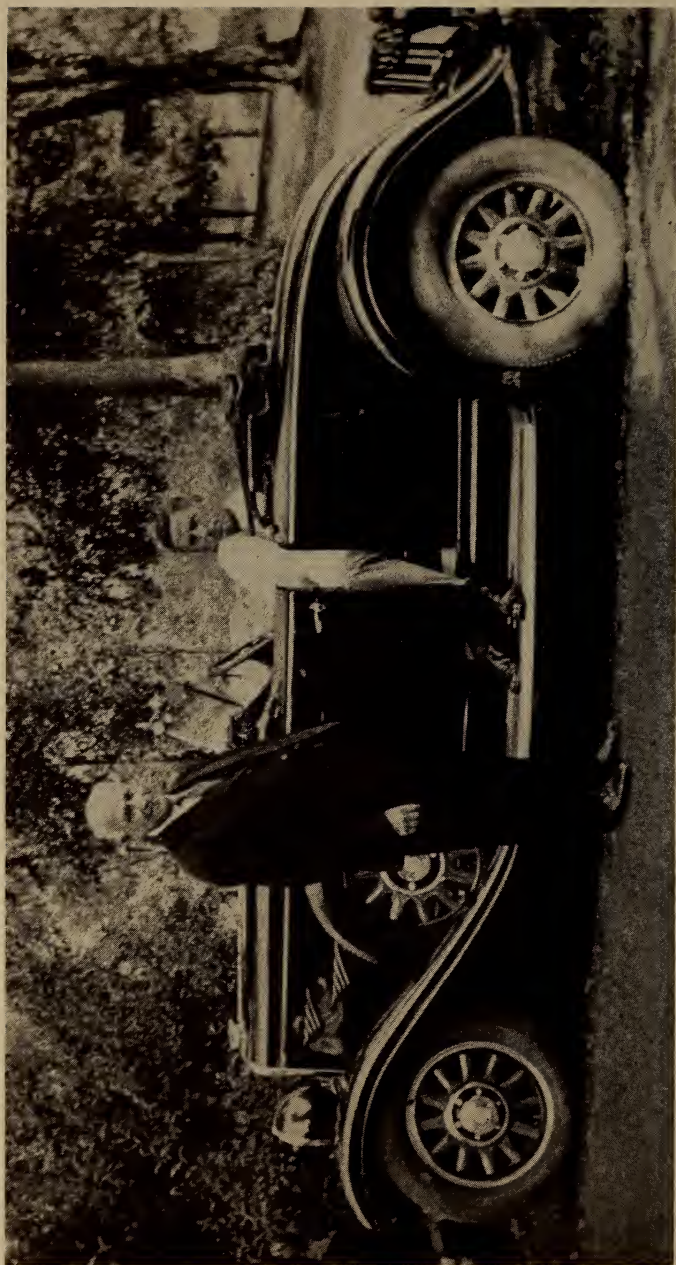
year, of necessity led everyone to extend their thinking beyond their usual paths. For this highly valuable result Cutler was grateful.

Cutler demanded of his teachers a mobility and responsiveness reminiscent of the educational creed of Greenwich's Reverend Mr. Blodgett.

A school year should always mark a transition from the old to the new. There are always new discoveries, in science, in literature, in history, in mathematics. There are always new textbooks. There are always new methods of instruction. It is the work of the teacher to find the new discoveries and combine them with the old, already known. The skill of the teacher is revealed in his ability to pass these over to the student under his instruction. The interest of the student should be awakened. His mind should be aroused to its full working capacity. There must be in the classroom a kind of inspiration and fascination which impels the student to his best effort. The teacher should always dominate his class and his subject. The combination of teacher and student and classroom should be as near ideal as possible in order to secure the best results in education.¹⁸

Cutler's ability to handle and hold excellent teachers made Mount Hermon a great school. As the Columbia report made clear, the salaries he could afford to offer were no inducement. On the other hand, he could provide them with homes. Throughout his more than forty reports to the Trustees runs a constant request for the construction of more housing for his faculty. In these demands he was exceptionally successful. The real reason for his hold on teachers lay partly in the almost consecrated spirit of Mount Hermon and the conviction of its special mission in education, partly in Cutler's own wisdom and judgment.¹⁹ His faculty were given a free hand, for Cutler interfered neither with their methods nor with what they taught, so long as their teaching was effective. Moreover, he could be counted on to back them in their projects, and in their relations with students. Urging them to continue their studies, he gave due recognition to those who did so. As with the students, Cutler respected the individuality of each teacher, always showing their views and their work sincere deference. Deeply appreciative of their efforts and their devotion, he strove to show his recognition of their loyalty. In a letter accompanying one man's certificate of appointment for the coming year, he wrote: "Thank you for all that you have done for Mount Hermon. We have learned to depend on you at all times by day and by night."²⁰

That there is little of such written material, is the clue to Cutler's day-to-day relations with the faculty, for he always spoke to them rather than writing. Just as he liked to handle a situation as soon as it arose, so he preferred



DR. CUTLER AND ELLIOTT SPEER

to do business by word of mouth. When a teacher came in to make an appointment to see him, Cutler would usually answer, "Let's do it now." In periods of crisis as well as from day to day, he never put off doing any work that could possibly be done at once. People and problems he dealt with personally and immediately. One of his former secretaries recalls that "people felt free to interrupt him at any time—during dictation, after chapel, during lunch."²¹

Although Cutler was never afraid of meeting a disagreeable situation, he often at such a time appeared to be moving too slowly, to be showing indecision, even inability to handle the problem. Actually he was only watching events. As men grew to know him, they discovered that Cutler "had the astuteness and shrewdness of a practical Yankee, and that he had thoughts he kept to himself and thoughts he shared."²² Often he was so eminently noncommittal as to invite misunderstandings. As the head of a large school, he had frequently too many factors to consider for him to be otherwise. As soon as a decision could be justly made, there was no mistaking where he stood. One of the most ticklish points in handling the teachers was the question of housing priority. Some felt that they were deceived by Cutler in their talks with him, but the great weight of evidence goes to belie such a charge. Misunderstandings arose because of his refusal to commit himself one way or another. In one instance, when a house came free for the occupancy of another family, Cutler was under pressure to overlook the teacher having senior claim and to give priority to an extremely valuable member of the faculty who would probably leave Hermon if he were not adequately housed. Cutler, undisturbed, allotted the house to the senior claimant, and went out of his way to tell him how much his presence and his loyalty meant to the school. To have a faculty with so many years of service, Cutler knew he must keep their confidence by unswerving impartiality and lack of favoritism. One of his few errors of administration occurred in the thirty-seventh year of his principalship. With the elimination of the Agriculture Course, he was faced with the problem of placing a teacher who had served the school for more than fifteen years. An increasing amount of administrative work had been piling up in Holbrook Hall. Ordinarily much of this would have been handled by the vice-principal, but he in turn carried a heavy teaching load, and being a slow worker, he left a continually increasing burden upon Cutler. It seemed logical to create the office of Dean, appointing to it the now unemployed teacher, who at the time was the one

best fitted to handle the job. Unfortunately for the school and for himself, Cutler, under pressure of the paper work and the coincidental necessity of caring for a loyal faculty member, chose for an important position a brilliant but unstable man. It is now fairly clear that Cutler misjudged his character and failed to understand his disruptive and discordant influence. This might not have been so evident had not Cutler been forced to spend such a large share of his time away from the school, speaking, making contacts, seeking new sources of students and funds. Cutler's plight is illustrative of that of a great many headmasters, torn between the necessity of representing their school to the outside world, and the responsibility of setting the tone and character of the school itself.

Cutler had hoped to retire no later than 1930, after forty years' service, but both alumni and Trustees urged him to stay on. The launching in 1930 of the endowment fund drive was an added incentive to delay his departure. In 1931, he presented his resignation, to take effect in June of the following year, thus giving the Trustees adequate time to choose his successor. His own choice almost from the first had been Elliott Speer, president of the Board of Trustees of the Northfield Schools since 1926. When Cutler first knew him, Speer was in his late twenties, a chaplain at Lafayette, a minister of real power, and a natural leader of young men. Through his father, the Reverend Robert E. Speer, friend of D. L. Moody and a long-time Trustee of the schools, young Speer had known Northfield and Mount Hermon for many years. Cutler soon came to hold him in high esteem, as he did his father, and they became close friends. Speer leaned heavily on Cutler's advice and counsel, and found it valuable to have a man of long experience and wisdom at the head of Mount Hermon. They developed a respect and understanding for each other which meant much to Cutler in his last years at Hermon, and which led him to hope that Speer would be his successor. To his great satisfaction the Trustees concurred with his choice.

It was in connection with the appointment of Elliott Speer to the Board of the Northfield Schools that Cutler suffered the greatest personal sadness of his last years. Since the death of D. L. Moody, his closest and most beloved friend had been Moody's son, Will, or W.R., whom he had known since 1886, when he was a teacher, and young Moody a student at Hermon. D.L., wanting his son to learn about the school, had, after his graduation from Yale, virtually apprenticed him to Cutler. Upon his father's death, his was the almost insurmountable task of raising the large yearly sum required

to keep both schools operating. As costs rose, this job became increasingly difficult. Through consummate skill and courage, W.R. had been extraordinarily successful, but the continual struggle involved proved a great drain on his physical resources, and in 1926 he was forced to give up all his work and go to Europe for a complete rest. While Moody was in Europe, the Trustees cabled him suggesting possible arrangements to meet the emergency created by his absence. His reply was that they should do as seemed best to them. On both sides there were perfect confidence and trust. The Trustees accordingly asked Elliott Speer to take over the job as their President, W.R. to remain in an advisory capacity, but relieved of his most arduous duties.

Speer's authority and responsibility had not been well defined, and when Moody returned from Europe their activities began to conflict. In place of one executive, the Northfield Schools now seemed to have two, and the situation rapidly degenerated to a point where each man was struggling against the other. The original intent of the Trustees had been to invest all the authority in Speer's hands to relieve the pressure on the older man. The actual outcome was that Moody presented his resignation to the Board.

Cutler, who had become a Corporator and Trustee in 1926, voted with all the others to accept the resignation.²³ The consequent loss of his friendship with W.R. was one of the hardest blows of his long life. It seemed clear to Moody that if Cutler were really his friend he would not only have voted to refuse his resignation, but would have waged an active campaign to have Speer released. Actually Cutler's position was determined by what he thought best for Mount Hermon. The Trustees had been advised by Moody's physician that his health could not stand the strain of heavy duties. Then too, they felt a certain responsibility toward Speer, who had given up a good position to come to Northfield, and who was succeeding admirably in his difficult task. To Moody, Cutler's stand seemed a personal betrayal by a close friend, and his subsequent actions reflected this frame of mind, but at no time was he able to draw an answer from Cutler, nor would Cutler defend himself against any of the charges brought against him. By word and deed he continued to show his deep affection for Moody, inviting him to speak at Mount Hermon and ever extending a hand of friendship. In his last years he would preface any discussion of the incident with, "I loved Will Moody."

Education at Mount Hermon was a vital fusion of D. L. Moody's conception and Cutler's vigorous imaginative execution. It is difficult to de-

termine where one left off and the other began, for Cutler always saw himself as Moody's interpreter rather than as an innovator.

Education at Mount Hermon means D. L. Moody's idea of education. It is the training and development of hand, head, and heart. The work system stands for the development of the hand, the classroom for the development of the head, and the Bible for the development of the heart. No one of the three can be separated from the other two. It is like the weaving of a braid of three strands; the over-development of any one means the misalignment of the other two.

The work system is unique. Its aim is to develop a sense of responsibility on the part of the student. When a student first comes to the School he is placed in a work section under careful supervision. If he is faithful he will soon be given work where he will not be watched, but his work will be carefully inspected. He will be given something to do for which he will be responsible. A little later someone or several students may be put under him for whose work he will also be responsible. Some students will never be promoted from a section where their work must be overlooked. The probability is that their work later on in life will be under some overseer who may tell them always what to do, and how to do it. The whole work system here, however, is intended to stimulate a student to do his best and to increase his powers of assuming responsibility for his own work or for the work of those who are under him. The work is varied and generally calls into action all the capabilities the student has. By the time the student is completing his course he is usually a student officer in charge of about fifty men.

The classroom localizes the mind development. Mr. Moody desired the best instruction possible for these students, many of whom had been deprived of earlier opportunities for an education. That Mr. Moody believed in mind training is proved by his desire to have the best teachers possible, and by his oft-repeated advice to many of his boys to get a college education. He had no new theory of mind training. He followed the guidance of expert educators in his plan for intellectual training. Several well-defined departments fully equipped with teachers, and well supplied with laboratories are doing this great work of instruction.

It is, moreover, the training of the heart that differentiates education at Mount Hermon. Mr. Moody insisted that education was not worth while unless the heart was right. To him an educated rogue was the most dangerous man in the world. Character building was to go along with mind building and muscle building. The Word of God is the law book for life in the curriculum at Mount Hermon. The wisdom that Mr. Moody coveted for his boys was that which cometh down from above. This threefold development of her students is the ideal which Mount Hermon sets as her goal in the training of her boys for life's great work. This is education at Mount Hermon.²⁴

Cutler pressed with energy toward two other objectives, both dear to Moody, which he held vital to the education of young men. The first was to

*"train men to assume the responsibility of service to others."*²⁵ Cutler impressed upon the students that their education involved a parallel responsibility: they should become aware of the needs of the people about them, and take the initiative actively to meet them. "It is . . . [Mount Hermon's] high purpose to send out constantly into the work of the world young men who may take with them the spirit of the founder of the school 'to help' where there is a need."²⁶ Cutler attempted to make the students look beyond themselves, to see that they were themselves units in a larger community, in whose life their education demanded they take an active part.

Cutler's second objective was that Mount Hermon should teach standards that would give each student equilibrium to withstand "all the emergencies of life." The three strands of education should be so interwoven as to "teach men to know the resources of the . . . mind and the body so that they will be able to stand the pressure of life and to withstand the encroachments of experience." The essence of civilized living was the merging of mental, physical, and spiritual development, and to Cutler this was the "kind of teaching Mt. Hermon ought to give." To him "the success of the school is what that school makes out of an ordinary man. I am glad to say that is the pride of Mount Hermon School, that the ordinary man who comes here catches something of new inspiration and life, and goes out into a larger, better and nobler purpose in living."²⁷ Always he tried to imbue his boys with some of his faith in the promise of the morrow. "Tomorrow morning the sun will be shining and everything will be all right." Not that he believed that events would take care of themselves, but each day offered fresh chances to rebuild and move ahead.

That the influence of D. L. Moody upon Cutler was great, we have seen in his speeches, his reports, and in his actions. Many who observed the school in the 1920's, questioned whether Cutler was not held back from making necessary changes in the administration by this very adherence to his interpretation of Moody's design for its development. Was Moody's influence in the end a liability to Cutler? Did it prevent his adapting himself as rapidly as new situations demanded? Cutler's own conception of Moody belies such an opinion. Particularly sensitive to changing conditions, Moody was the first man to shift his stand accordingly. Cutler governed Mount Hermon with this factor in mind. When he asked himself, "What would Moody do in this situation?" he was not saying, "Would he oppose my making or considering a change?" Rather, he was measuring his own ideas

against the creativeness that would have characterized Moody's actions. Moody's sway over Cutler was a spur not a check-rein to his awareness of new developments. In the field of education, however, he needed no spur, for he had a voracious appetite and alertness for changing ideas. Evidence of this was plentiful throughout the length of his stay at Mount Hermon, from the 1880's, when he had followed closely the speeches of Charles W. Eliot, and had his school examined by a Harvard Board, to the 1930's when he studied the report of Harold Rugg, of Thorndike on intelligence tests, and attended the meetings of the NEA and the Headmasters' Association. To the headmaster of a neighboring school, he was "a really great man," who had met a special and unusual educational need with vision and ability. "He never said anything about what he was doing. He did his work and he kept the faith."²⁸

The preface to a survey of curriculum-making in America published in 1926, contains the following statement:

In fifty years of curriculum-making the greatest need has been for a comprehensive overview of the currents of American life and education, appraisal of all the factors in the educational situation. Rarely—and then only by fast striding pioneers—have the child, American civilization, and the school been considered together.²⁹

This, in essence, was the position held towards the end of Cutler's principalship by leaders of educational thought. How did Cutler, and the program of study that he had molded at Hermon, measure by such a yardstick? The boys who came to Hermon as late as 1926-27 were on the average two years older than high school students in 830 other cities throughout the country. They had little or no financial backing, but more than a third, even as late as 1926, had mastered some trade. They came to Mount Hermon to go as far as possible in their education in the shortest possible time. To Cutler, as to Moody, the purpose of an education was to expand a man's abilities to their fullest for the service of his fellow men. In the America of the 1920's, Cutler believed as he had at Amherst in the '80's, that this purpose could only be accomplished through a college or technical school education. It was therefore his mission to prepare Hermon men for college.

Cutler allowed many boys to take college entrance examinations when there was little chance of their passing. The risk to the school's record was worth taking, if it gave a boy an opportunity of forging ahead faster. The

determination which had carried him this far, despite financial handicaps, would, Cutler was convinced, more than make up for the thinness of his preparation. This point of view he saw no reason to alter during his remaining years as principal. He seized every opportunity to make clear to his students how important it was for them to consider Mount Hermon only as a way station on their road to college. Neither their age, nor their lack of funds, nor the difficulty they were having with their studies, should give them any cause to lower their aim.

Cutler's last years at Mount Hermon, though difficult and challenging, and marred by one great personal sorrow in the loss of his friendship with Will Moody, were by no means unhappy. Recognition of his work came from widely different sources. Amherst announced its intention of conferring upon him an honorary L.H.D., just 45 years after his own graduation. Letters of tribute and congratulation poured in during the last year of his principalship, from former students, teachers, and college classmates. Of greatest satisfaction to him were the letters from his "boys," more than 10,000 of whom had attended Hermon during his forty-two years as principal. Often they told him of something he had done to encourage them to a life they had believed beyond their capabilities. The Trustees, too, acknowledged Mount Hermon's debt to him.

In a manner truly remarkable, Dr. Cutler caught both the vision and passion of Dwight L. Moody for the great school which he founded and has exemplified them in his personal life and in his conduct of the school.

Simplicity and sincerity have ever characterized Dr. Cutler, and these qualities so essential in a teacher have been enhanced by a broad culture and a comprehensive sympathy which have kept him in vital touch with educational trends and tendencies, greatly to the advantage of both faculty and students, bringing to him also widespread recognition in educational circles.³⁰

It was his approach to the unusual problem that faced Mount Hermon, that places Cutler among the forefront of the educators of his time. When he became principal in 1890, the direction which Mount Hermon was to take, the real manner of its service, had not been fully determined. Without fuss, yet with constant pressure, Cutler channeled the strength of the school into preparing young men for college. Quietly and gradually, he toned down the tendency toward overemphasis of religious instruction and expression. The departments of instruction he strengthened by eliminating non-academic courses, and by hiring more highly-trained teachers. The

turning point in his own life, Cutler felt, was his Amherst education, which opened up to him unlimited opportunities for service. He strove, therefore, to make of Mount Hermon a pathway leading to college. If this was impossible, as was often true in the early days, at least Hermon should leave its students with a lasting thirst for education, a thirst strong enough to spur them to continue on their own. Cutler was no "fast striding pioneer," nor did he pretend to be, but his appraisal of Mount Hermon's place in American life, made in 1890, was still essentially sound in 1930. The impact of his strength, his faith, and his youthful spirit can still be felt, vigorous as ever, in these words written during his last year as principal at the age of seventy.

Mount Hermon stands ever on the threshold of the new.

No day is like any other day in her long history.

She gathers up all the experiences of the past only to find that they are no sure guide in the untried, untrodden paths of the new day.

Faith is the only true leader into the unknown.

Hope builds the school anew in the new day.

Love must permeate it all to make the school a place of blessing and privilege in every new day, for every one born anew in every new morning time.³¹

LIFE BEGINS AT SEVENTY

I don't know what your destiny will be. But one thing I know: the only ones among you who will be really happy are those who will have sought and found how to serve.—ALBERT SCHWEITZER

. . . he could leave no finer legacy to Mount Hermon School and to all students than this; to show that accomplishment in life keeps pace with the will to do which may remain so long as life lasts.

LESS than a month after celebrating his seventieth birthday, on May 27, 1932, Cutler retired as principal of Mount Hermon. For him this was not so much the end of one era in his life, as the beginning of a new one. Vigorous and in superb health, he detested inactivity. God had given man life to be used for work and service, and Cutler felt that he had an abundant measure of both left to do. He neither looked back, nor spent time recapturing memories of by-gone days. It was the challenge of the future that fascinated him. "Tomorrow the sun will shine." It was this ability to look forward, his insatiable appetite for the new that kept him young in spirit.

During his last year at Hermon, he often considered how he would spend his retirement. Having enough money to live on, he would not be forced to earn a salary. Since his whole life had been spent in education, it was to service in this profession that he turned his thoughts. Drawn by the great need for teachers in the South, he visited there during the year, and seriously considered taking a position with a college for poor people, run somewhat along the lines of Mount Hermon. Such a job would satisfy one of his self-imposed requirements: that he spend the school year at a good distance from Northfield and Hermon, lest his presence in any way hamper Elliott Speer in the administration of the school.

Dissatisfied with what he had seen in the South, where he felt the work he had been offered was not demanding enough, Cutler next turned his interest to a trip around the world, an idea which had long tempted him.

Such an interval would give him more time to choose an occupation. The prospect of a year's inactivity, however, disturbed him more than the anticipated pleasure of seeing new lands and new peoples, or the challenge of learning another tongue. Not that Cutler was ever a passive traveler. His strenuous days were spent visiting all the museums and places of historical, literary, or general interest, keeping small notebooks crammed with words and idioms of each locality. It was, rather, the purposelessness of his projected trip that disturbed him. His restless energy demanded a more tangible goal, one that would give him happiness while at the same time contributing to that of other people. His world cruise he set aside until he should be well launched in some new venture. As he told his Amherst classmates, "after his many years of activity in educational work he would never be content without some definite pursuit."¹ The end of the summer found him still undecided.

While he was in this frame of mind, his wife suggested that he go to France and take up the study of medicine. Her selfless encouragement from this time on made possible his decision, and his eventual accomplishment of this plan. That he accepted her idea so readily, is evidence that it had also entered his own mind. Some of his happiness at the prospect is echoed in a letter to Mrs. Cutler.

It was good to get your two letters yesterday. I am enthusiastic about your plan for studying medicine in France. I will do it and if possible start this fall. Could we start soon and take the Pacific trip & land in France in time for the opening? I will see M. Thiebaud [the French teacher at Mount Hermon] to find if he knows about the schools.

I think it w'd be something worth while.²

Whence this apparently sudden ambition to become a doctor? Were he young it would be a long and grueling course, and study at a foreign school meant the added impediment of foreign languages. Such a radical decision obviously did not spring up without thoughtful consideration, indeed Cutler's interest in medicine was one of long standing. Even in Amherst he mentions in his diary a yearning to study medicine. Since his training and experience lay in education, and he lacked money for further schooling, he had perforce directed his attention to finding a teaching position. The busy years that followed, at Hermon and abroad, and the necessity of finding a job remunerative enough for him to support a wife and family, all forced medicine into the background.

The interest was still alive, however. From the very beginning of his principalship, he paid particular heed to the care of the sick students, personally overseeing the medical attention given those more seriously ill. Was a student to undergo an operation in Greenfield or Brattleboro? Cutler drove over himself and remained through the operation, watching, whenever he was allowed to, with the greatest fascination. For one of his children who had shown a slight preoccupation with medicine, he purchased some textbooks, which he himself later devoured. After each diagnosis made on a student, Cutler would hurry back to Ford Cottage and read about it in one of the texts. In this limited way he began his study of medicine, and kept the fires of his interest alive during his many years at Hermon.

At the Syracuse commencement in 1916, when he was awarded his first honorary degree, he attracted the attention of a Hermon graduate.

What impressed me at the graduation exercises, at which ceremony his degree was conferred, was the deep and almost passionate interest he displayed when the graduates of the Medical School arose to repeat the Hippocratic oath, a pledge of medical ethics propounded more than two thousand years ago by the Greek physician. Dr. Cutler, wearing his newly acquired hood, seemed to forget himself in this procedure: Or was he remembering his latent waiting self?

Was the physician in his own mind subscribing to that high doctrine of medical honor? He knew every word of that oath for he repeated it to me. Would he ever be one of them?³

Always hungry for learning, now that his time was his own, he felt he could not rest until he had satisfied his curiosity about medicine. The loyal backing that he received from his wife, the knowledge that he was at last free to go ahead with his quest, gave him a new lease on life. Early one morning he wrote Mrs. Cutler: "I think we can still do things in the way of service together. I am game for it. I feel wonderfully well and not at all inclined to settle down to do nothing—and nothing appears on the horizon here. Let's go."⁴ That very day he went to Mount Hermon and talked with M. Thiebaud, who loaned him a "book which gave much information about the different activities of Protestantism in France," but contained nothing about medical schools. The World Almanac was equally uninformative. Two days later, Cutler set out for Boston, where he visited, in rapid succession, the French Consulate, the Public Library, and the Boston Medical Library, still without finding anything more than the address of the American University Union in New York. Undaunted, he left by car for New York

at four that afternoon. "I went by the new road through Stafford Springs and Hartford and reached New York late in the evening." This was in addition to the hundred mile drive from Northfield to Boston that he had taken in the morning. He could not rest until he had the information he needed. "I went to the 'Union' as soon as it was open at nine o'clock. They had exactly the information that I wanted with catalogues of all the medical schools in France. The one at Bordeaux is evidently the one we wish and I am writing there today to apply for admission."⁵ Without further delay he reserved passage on the *Berengaria* sailing on October 20, in order to reach France in ample time to matriculate.

Before leaving New York, Cutler dropped in on his close friend and former student Douglas Malcolm, then an officer in the American Express Company, to enlist his help. Rapidly telling him of his restlessness, and his desire to be "working toward some goal," he asked Malcolm to secure for him the matriculation requirements, "and whatever literature you can get on them," of a list of French medical schools. Returning then to East Northfield, he sold his car and made plans to rent his house.

Once started, Cutler's conviction grew that he had made the right decision.

I have no misgivings about going. I am thoroughly persuaded it is the thing to do. I cannot look forward with any complacency to a life here without anything to do that seems to me worth while. It strikes me as unbearable. I think we shall have some wonderful times together in what is to us a new experience if not a new life.⁶

So completely absorbed was he in this "new life," that he felt no pang at severing his ties with Mount Hermon, where his life had centered for almost half a century. Meeting the secretary of the Trustees at the end of the first week in October, a few days after his trip to New York, he seemed strangely detached in his viewpoint.

I had a long talk with —— after lunch today. He is rather disappointed that we are going to be away so long. He thought I could do a good deal in making contacts that would result in benefit to the schools. There may be something in it but somehow it does not appeal to me now.⁷

Although Mount Hermon would continue to claim a large part of his heart for the rest of his life, an ambiguous connection with the schools, in which his job would be to make contacts and to raise money, did not catch his

fancy. The intellectual challenge, and the relationship with boys, which had been the great stimuli to his work at Hermon, were lacking. Besides, he knew he must not be at Mount Hermon during Speer's first years. In his own mind, his plan to study medicine was part of his gift to his "old boys" at Hermon. He hoped they would see that what he gave them had not ended in June of 1932. That he never spoke to them about it was typical of him, for he hated display, or self-advertisement. Many students took a long time to realize the true strength of the man, but what is remembered about a great teacher is the way he lived and not what he taught. Life is dynamic, man perishes without a goal, and it is the "will to do" that breathes a living fire into man's life. Those who thought for themselves as Cutler hoped to teach them to do, realized this about him.

The information that he received through the American Express led Cutler to choose the medical school of the University of Paris. On the night of October 20, after a happy and heartfelt sendoff by friends and family, he and Mrs. Cutler set sail, landing at Cherbourg six days later after a rough passage. "We had to have racks on the tables every day except the first."⁸

To his daughter, Cutler wrote that his first six weeks in Paris seemed longer than they actually were, so much had been crowded into them.

It is for us a very quiet and busy life we are living here in the midst of this great city. We are almost in the Latin Quarter of Paris and we live in the atmosphere of students. It is quite refreshing to be a student again. It is like beginning all over and I find myself knowing little of this new world of medicine into which I have plunged. I am still all in a maze—but I hope it will clear up.⁹

Well might he have felt himself in a maze. Gaining admission to the medical school was no easy task to begin with, for he was forced to pass, in French, an entire set of entrance examinations. No sooner were these completed, than he was thrown into a grueling schedule of biological sciences, most of them demanding a clear and up-to-date knowledge of the basic material. Cutler's last work in them had been more than forty-five years earlier. To his daughter Mrs. Seibert, he sent a sketch of his activities.

I am also very busy every day and all day. We do not have any day off—except Sunday.

I get up before seven and go to the hospital at eight. We have two lectures there in the forenoon with clinic. Then we have work in the wards and examination until noon.

After a rather hurried lunch we go to the laboratories for a lecture and practical work.

I do not get back until evening so that it makes a long day. We have dinner in the evening and that takes quite a part of the evening which does not leave very much time for private study. The terms and language of medicine certainly tax the memory. It is rather fun being a student again. I am quite conspicuous among the youngsters.¹⁰

Here was a severe routine for a man past seventy. Anatomy Cutler found especially demanding, because so much had to be memorized, all in French. Although he spoke the language fluently, medical terms were an added hurdle, and he found the course a tiring one. "They certainly are workers over here. . . . What with visiting hospitals, having lectures and doing dissection, the whole day is taken up and you have to study late at night."¹¹

School holidays were periods of much needed rest, but the Easter vacation already was merely a buffer to final examinations, which cast a shadow over the beautiful warm spring days. Even while describing the trees and flowers in the Paris parks, Cutler could not avoid mention of his studies. That he might more than justify his attendance at the medical school, he was determined to do well on his examinations. Beginning on May 18, these lasted through June. Cutler did find them harassing, but even with his mind and energy deeply engrossed, he found time to follow closely what was going on around him. The London Economic Conference was beginning and he wrote his son: "I hope there may be good resulting. The French evidently do not intend to give up the gold basis, and will default again on the payment June 15th. This is a chaotic world."¹² On July 10 the Cutlers sailed for New York, arriving on the twenty-first and reaching Northfield two days later. The soothing, quiet, restfulness of Northfield was much needed after the strenuous year, which was soon forgotten in a succession of visits from his children and grandchildren. Again the future beckoned, with the challenge of another year's study. By the end of July, Cutler was writing of his plan to leave for Paris early in September.

The inviting prospect of the long-postponed world cruise delayed his return. Now that he was well launched in a new life, he felt free to take the trip. As the summer progressed, he and Mrs. Cutler found more and more to recommend it, and during the month of August they completed the necessary arrangements. On September 14, 1933, they sailed from New York, heading south and east for Cuba and the Panama Canal, through ex-

tremely rough seas. "We have had an eventful voyage thus far. We passed through two hurricanes one in the Atlantic ocean and one in the Caribbean Sea. Both of them were terrible . . . , causing damage to the ship and harm to the passengers. Then on reaching Los Angeles we experienced the earthquake."¹³

More eventful to Cutler than storms and earthquakes, were his meetings with "his boys" at each port of call. The Alumni Secretary, having secured an itinerary of his trip, had written to the alumni representatives all along his route. At each stop he was met at the boat, taken sightseeing, entertained at luncheons and dinners, that he might see all the graduates in the area. In this way, too, he was able to see much more of each country than if he had been forced to strike out alone, and lost little time in finding the more interesting spots. The international character of the school through the years of his principalship (for many years foreign students made up almost twenty per cent of the student body), was vividly brought home to him. In Havana "we were taken by surprise, four were on the pier to meet us. . . . They drove us all around the city and took us into the Capitol and the University and the clubs."¹⁴ Havana was quiet, though 500 army officers were still being held prisoner in one of the large hotels. Cutler's joy at seeing his "old boys" was unbounded. They were the highlights of his journey. After two happy evenings spent with groups from Los Angeles and San Francisco, he wrote a long letter to the Alumni Secretary.

I think the backbone of the work of Mount Hermon is in the Alumni of the School. Their support should be maintained always. We should do everything we can to merit such support and should make every effort to maintain it and carry it into the long years to come.¹⁵

Another delegation of Hermon men in Honolulu guided them about the island, whose lush beauty they found captivating. "We wanted to stay there."¹⁶ Word reached them here of the death of Will Moody, clouding Cutler's happiness. "The passing of Will Moody has made me sad. We worked together for many years."¹⁷ In Japan, where they spent two weeks, they again found "old boys" to escort them. Cutler studied the language, and before he departed could handle the simplest phrases. From Japan, the ship took them to China for two weeks, and then south to the Philippines. Here he wrote his son: "We were greatly impressed with what the U.S. has done in the Philippines and is still doing. They certainly are not ready for

independence yet and will not be for a long time. I think Japan wants the islands and would surely get them if the U.S. should withdraw."¹⁸

As always he was alert to world events, "I am trembling as to what the withdrawal of Germany from the league and the conference at Geneva will lead to."¹⁹ That Germany was freeing herself from the bonds of international action naturally disturbed Cutler. It was another step, he felt, on the road to war. Yet like many people at the time, he considered that Germany had "a logical position." Cutler failed to connect his first appraisal of the ultimate result of the move with the clever sophistry of the Berlin propaganda office. Had he done so, he might have seen the shabbiness of Germany's "logical position."

From the Philippines, they sailed to Hongkong, and south to Singapore, to Penary, Rangoon, and thence to India. At Allahabad, Cutler stayed with Sam Higginbottom, founder and head of the Agricultural Institute there, who tried to persuade Cutler to stay and help him. The temptation was keen, and it was not until he had returned to Paris that Cutler finally rejected the idea. From India their path lay through the Red Sea and the Suez Canal, with a short stay in Egypt and Palestine, thence across the Mediterranean to Naples, where they took the train for Paris, arriving there in time to register for the second semester. Cutler was soon absorbed in his studies, and might have written as he had a year earlier:

I am a student again.

I keep more study hours than we ever had at Mount Hermon.

I like it. It renews youth, or is it the second childhood!

The study of Medicine is very interesting. The human body is such a wonderful creation. It seems to bring one anew into touch with God. I stand amazed before it all.²⁰

Again examinations were over by the first of July, but this year Cutler decided not to return to East Northfield. The completion of one unit of work only served to spur him to look ahead. "I passed all the examinations and have been looking over the work of next year, during the past few days. We have next year Medical Physics and Chemistry—and Physiology and Bacteriology—together with hospital work every forenoon."²¹ Although courses did not resume until November first, he continued to work on his own. "I go to the hospital every morning for clinic work and study the rest of the day in anticipation of the work of next year. There is so much



GROUP OF MEDICAL STUDENTS AT THE SORBONNE, 1934
(Cutler, third row, third from left.)

to be learned about the care of the human body. I like it. It is fascinating." This he described as "staying quietly . . . in Paris."²²

Due to the length and severity of the task of earning a medical degree, Cutler had initially approached it with a view to achieving limited objectives. After a year or two of study, he expected to find a position in a medical laboratory, where he could make use of his training. Foremost in his mind was the question of how best to use his new education. Far more than a purely enjoyable and interesting way to spend his time, it was a means to greater service. By the end of a year and a half's work, however, his mind turned from his original moderate goal to the far more strenuous one of fully completing his medical education. Having assured himself that it was within his strength and ability, his determination to carry his work through to the end increased proportionately with the passing of each new term. The source of his inspiration was never the degree itself, but his desire to practice medicine. Education was never an end in itself, its only justification was the power, the skills it gave a man to live more usefully.

Into the quiet of this life burst the terrible news of the murder of Elliott Speer at Mount Hermon on September 14, 1934. Cutler was told of it as he was entering church. At first he could not believe it, and not until he had the full account could he bring himself to accept it as fact. Speculate as he would, he could find neither a motive, nor a suspect. The whole affair was thoroughly puzzling to him, and he found consolation only in the certainty that the police would soon clear up the mystery. Speer's death was for Cutler a keen personal loss. "Elliott Speer was my friend," he wrote later. "I loved him as a brother. I still mourn his loss."²³

Confidence in the eventual solution of the crime, combined with the severity of his medical studies, caused him at first to waste little time worrying about affairs on the "Hill." "We are busy here in Paris. The medical studies take all my time."²⁴ The summer of 1935 he planned to spend once again in Paris, finding his work much too interesting to leave. In March he wrote to one of his sons: "Just now we expect to remain here in Paris, for the long vacation. I plan to do work in the hospital and carry along medical studies. The study of medicine is endless—but very interesting and fascinating."²⁵ July first found his decision unchanged. But he was troubled by the reports from Hermon. On July 15 he set sail from Le Havre for Baltimore, arriving there on the morning of the twenty-fifth. Less than

three weeks later, he was on his way back to Europe. The flying visit, though a drain on his reserves of energy, gave him peace of mind.

Cutler's trip was impelled by the situation at Mount Hermon. Far from solving the murder quickly, the investigation dragged on interminably without any evident results. By the spring of 1935, the police seemed no closer to success than on the night of September 14. Meanwhile, suspicion at school had settled on one man, feeling ran high, and the unity that the school had enjoyed for so many years was badly disrupted. The focal point of all the malevolence was the very man whom Cutler had appointed Dean eight years earlier. Because of the extremely injudicious use of a letter of doubtful origin, which he claimed to have copied from an original, the Trustees had requested his resignation a few months after the tragedy. Always a controversial character, he had won the open mistrust and dislike of a number of the faculty long before Speer's death. This, in addition to his unexplained movements on the night of the murder, led to a fairly unanimous feeling at school that Dean Elder was the guilty man. So rooted were the faculty in this opinion, that they abandoned consideration of any other solution, and centered their efforts purely upon finding evidence that would further support the answer to which their natural dislike had brought them. The fact that the weight of proven evidence, fancy, and insinuation, pointed to this same man, strengthened their determination.

Cutler was sharply aware of the damage that this situation must inevitably cause the school. Moreover, he had certain sympathy for Elder who, although he had not even been indicted for the murder, was being treated as one convicted. To regard a man as a criminal before he had been so adjudged by law, was to Cutler unchristian in the extreme. It disturbed him greatly that the faculty and trustees of a school founded on religious principles, on the rules of Christian conduct laid down in the Bible, should conduct themselves in a manner so blatantly inconsistent with their beliefs. True justice they would not find with passion and spite as their guides.

At the outset, Cutler did not believe that he could help the school by returning, but as the situation rapidly deteriorated following the inquest, which returned a verdict of "by a person unknown," he became convinced that it was his duty to return and offer his services. At least, he would have a clearer picture of the event than he had so far pieced together from numerous letters. Then, too, he hoped that his intimate knowledge of Mount Hermon and its personnel, and his knack for ferreting out information,

might uncover some evidence that would help lead to a solution. One way or the other, he must try to make Elder's position clear, to cure the festering sore of suspicion, mistrust, and ill-will. Tired though he was, and far from sanguine about his chances of success, Cutler felt himself under moral obligation to go. "I do not suppose I can do very much but my conscience would seem to dictate that I ought to . . . make some effort to clear the mystery. I hope it may result in something. . . . It seems a question of duty and I do not wish to be unfaithful."²⁶ Conscience and sense of duty were in the task, but not his heart. "I felt if there was anything I could do I ought to do it and the neglect of it w'd be cause for regret all my life."²⁷

From the time he landed in Baltimore, until his departure three weeks later, Cutler was constantly on the move, talking with as many key people as was physically possible. He interviewed members of the Board of Trustees in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, visited the school, and spoke to a great many of the faculty; he talked with the State Police in Boston, twice with the police in Greenfield, read the manuscript of all their interviews and the full report of the inquest. With Elder he had two long meetings. Yet even such sustained efforts failed to bring a solution any closer. On board the SS *Manhattan*, he wrote a report of his trip to one of the Trustees.

I did not accomplish all I hoped for in the investigation and interviews, but I am returning to Paris with conscience clear and a sense of duty done. . . . After having heard the statements of the two extremes and much detail between the two I come to the conclusion that, to my mind, Mr. Elder did not do the shooting and that he does not know who did it. At the same time I think Mr. Elder knows more than anybody else. I opened the way for Mr. —, . . . to talk with Mr. Elder. At first Mr. Elder was unwilling but later he was not only willing but desirous to talk with him. Mr. — said that he planned to have several interviews with Mr. Elder. I hope there may be results. . . .

I liked your version of the case from the legal standpoint and I regard your advice very very valuable. I am sorry that I cannot report any more advancement in the solution of the terrible murder. I think the truth will be known. Up to the present, I must acknowledge, the clue that leads to Mr. Elder is the most plausible of all the clues.²⁸

The key to Cutler's interpretation of what he found, is that he refused to let himself even guess at Elder's guilt until it was proven. That the little evidence there was pointed to him, Cutler agreed, but that was no excuse for guessing at conclusions. Measured by the amount accomplished the trip was

highly unsuccessful, but the final week-end, spent mostly with his five children and his grandchildren, did a great deal to change its complexion and lift his spirits. "What good times we had together. I shall never forget them. The renewing of old memories of the old times and the experiences of the new times were refreshing to my soul."²⁹

Back in Paris, Cutler set happily to work, and the remainder of the summer passed rapidly. With renewed enthusiasm he plunged into the next term. Mount Hermon was ever present in his thoughts, however, and his trip having refreshed his mind as to her immediate needs, he now pondered various ways to help her meet them. With the increasing economic recovery of the world, he considered the suggestion by the President of the Trustees that he join in raising money to meet operating expenses. "I have a growing feeling that I ought to go back and offer my services to the Northfield Schools in the way of interviewing people and interesting them in the work of the schools," he wrote to his son, asking his advice.³⁰ The problem was to weigh the value of his study of medicine against the value of his help to the school. By the summer of 1936, he would have finished half the work for a degree. He hated the thought of giving up, especially since he was more than ever convinced that he could finish the course, and make use of his newly acquired skills. This, more than anything else, decided him against returning to East Northfield.

The Cutlers could not help noticing the "confusion among the nations of Europe" now threatening to disrupt world peace.³¹ Although living in the midst of it, they were so engrossed in their studies that they failed to understand fully the explosive significance of events. In the summer of 1936, Cutler resolved to finish his medical studies at the University of Vienna. The University of Paris had given him valuable background, but he now became convinced that for the best possible medical education he should "know the Austrian (German) method and system of medicine."³² It was a courageous move, for he would be forced to reorient himself completely, both in language and in methods.

A request which deeply touched him came to interrupt Cutler's first year in Vienna. 1937 marked the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of D. L. Moody, which The Northfield Schools planned to celebrate with a number of services, beginning on Moody's birthday, February 5, and continuing through the spring and the summer conferences. Mount Hermon was to climax its celebration in June, when all the alumni were invited to attend

a week-end of observances, culminating in the sermon on Sunday. It was to give this address that Cutler was asked to come home.

The chairman of the Program Committee, an "old boy" who had worked in the Cutler household, wrote a particularly persuasive appeal. "The matter of a preacher for Sunday has had perhaps more thought than anything else, and the Program Committee has unanimously agreed that the finest possibility for giving our alumni a real spiritual communion with Hermon lies with you." That they should have chosen Cutler is truly amazing, because he was a poor speaker. Although he could give an effective five-minute chapel talk to the students, he had never been an eloquent preacher. Knowing his own weaknesses, he had vainly struggled to overcome them, ever since rhetoric classes at Amherst, his debates in Alexandria, and his practice sermons in the Hitchcock Society. All this the writer of the letter knew, and he endeavored next to ease Cutler's mind on this score.

I am aware that this [invitation to preach] may startle you. When I recall having heard you preach only one sermon, I know that you must have felt that you were not suited for such work, and perhaps you still feel that way. But I am so sure of myself in this that I hope you will put away misgivings and accept the appointment for that part of our program. The thing to remember is that this is a Hermon Home-coming. Many generations of Hermon men have felt in you a greater spiritual power than was ever conveyed to them by the most eloquent preaching of men whose lives were given over entirely to spiritual leadership. Probably only D. L. Moody himself could mean more to Hermon men on that day, and he can't come.³³

Soon after this came another letter from the Alumni Secretary, speaking for all the alumni.

To them, the personification of all that Mount Hermon means is yourself, and should you fail us at this time it would be a disappointment to at least a thousand Hermon boys whom we expect to come back to The Hill on that occasion. Included in that group are all of us who carry responsibility here. . . .

None of us can think of anything more fitting than to have you occupy the pulpit Sunday morning and bring to us one of your inimitable messages. Of course the aim of this particular reunion is to do honor to the life and work of Mr. Moody, but no one of all of Mr. Moody's lieutenants ever more effectively or persistently kept his work and spirit before the passing generation of Hermon boys than yourself. We really need you.³⁴

Such an appeal was impossible to resist. Cutler set about writing a sermon, throwing all his strength into its preparation. It was as if he were trying to

pour into this commemorative speech the essence of his whole life's work, and the contemporary meaning of Moody and the school he founded. It was a speech compounded of love and devotion to a man, and the principles for which he stood, an effort to catch the "vision and passion" of D. L. Moody, which Cutler had made the vision and passion of Mount Hermon. Aware of his own limitations, he was worried lest he would not meet the standards that he had set for himself, and that his "old boys" had set for him.

In a room near the speakers' entrance in the chapel, two alumni happened upon Cutler just prior to the service. One of them describes the encounter as follows:

Then he held out his hands towards us, as much as if to show us that they were trembling and, nodding to the front of the building where the large audience was gathering, he said, "I'm nervous—I've got to make a speech"—and his hands *were* trembling. Always I had thought Dr. Cutler was so sure, so prepared, so precise, so efficient. [He] . . . was humble, as if he dreaded to assume the responsibility of talking to his "boys," as if he felt he wasn't good enough!

He was! His speech was a remarkable one. But the good Dr. was humbly not too sure it would be before the battle. I've never forgotten it.³⁵

Slowly, in clear, clipped speech, Cutler presented his tribute to D. L. Moody. Coloring every word was the theme: Moody's "rare and remarkable combination . . . [of] love for his fellow-men, and a determined purpose balanced with commonsense." In his heart he carried and drew his strength from the words he once heard at Müller's orphanage in Bristol, England: "The world has yet to see what God will do *with*, and *for*, and *through* a man who is fully and wholly consecrated to Him." This, as Cutler saw it, was Moody's gospel and the soul of his evangelism, and these words should express the spirit of Mount Hermon. The school itself was Moody's "permanent, enduring pulpit. By it his evangelism would become constant. A multitude of students . . . would bear perpetually his gospel messages to all parts of the world."³⁶

The alumni were in unanimous agreement that of a stimulating week-end Cutler's address was "the crowning inspiration." Perhaps the letter of appreciation that touched him most was the one from his sister-in-law.

It was a perfect presentation of all the best that Mount Hermon has stood for. Not since Mr. Moody left this world have I felt quite so uplifted and touched by any sermon. Through the years when life has brought a searching of heart to the deepest depths, the beckonings of the highest and most profound spiritual

visions have brought sustenance and peace to me, but the world steps in and shuts away the brightness and reality of it at times. You swept away the mists and clouds and took us all with you into the high mountains of love and aspiration and sustenance. It was not only myself, but the whole group that gathered there. You must have felt that close attention and sympathy of your audience. Afterwards they were all talking of it with reverence and admiration.³⁷

With eagerness Cutler had looked forward to spending this summer of 1937 in his beloved Northfield. Attending the conferences and seeing his children and grandchildren proved an elixir to his spirits, but this period, which should have brought him only happiness, was clouded by his involvement as witness at a trial in which ex-dean Elder was one of the principals. The testimony Cutler presented appeared to favor Elder, and the general sentiment was that his very presence, which naturally drew the respect of the court, was a decisive factor in the final outcome. Feeling ran high. Both men involved in the trial had been Cutler's friends, and he had been careful, he thought, to present only the most objective evidence. What angered his acquaintances in Northfield and Mount Hermon, was his unwillingness to denounce the man whom they were convinced was a scoundrel. As always, Cutler neither defended himself, nor made any counter charges. His disregard of all that was said about him only proved a further irritant, and increased the hostility to him.

When, on September 8, the Cutlers sailed for Europe, they were accompanied by their granddaughter, Eleanor Bailey, and by Carolyn Smith, the talented daughter of the head of Mount Hermon's English department. Both girls had come at Cutler's suggestion and with his continued encouragement, and were to be under his watchful eye while in Vienna. Even though much had happened to cause him sadness at East Northfield, Cutler left reluctantly. "Home looks good to us and we dislike to leave it."³⁸ It was only "the lonely quest" of the medical degree that could lure him away from his beloved Connecticut valley.

No sooner had he returned to Vienna, than he was again deeply engrossed in his studies. A letter to his son describes his schedule, similar to the one he had kept in Paris.

Mother and I are busy from morning until bedtime. I get up at 6:15—and I get to the hospital at 7:45. The lectures begin at 8 o'clock and last every day until noon. Then again in the P. M. at 2:—until—5: and two days in the week until 6:45.³⁹

So completely did his studies absorb his attention, that time itself lost meaning. "We two are well. The days go past so quickly that we scarcely realize how the weeks and months slip by—and *the years*."⁴⁰ When in March of 1938 Hitler seized Austria, the resulting changes were little noticed in the hospitals. Some of the professors were dismissed, and the Cutlers took to wearing "little red, white and blue" ribbons, but otherwise their life went on unruffled. Cutler had been assured by an English newspaper correspondent (who later died in a concentration camp) that he would be notified in time to leave Austria before war started. The initial crisis passed so quickly that its deeper significance escaped Cutler, whose mind was intent upon the goal of a medical degree. He remained in Vienna during the summer vacations of 1938 and 1939, continuing his studies on a less rigorous schedule, and working in the clinics. The American colony was smaller and the Cutlers' circle of friends more limited than in Paris. Whereas in Paris they had taken an active part in church affairs (Cutler was a deacon, a member of the finance committee, and Boy Scout examiner), there was no such opportunity here. Occasionally they would take short trips out into the country for a change of scene and a rest. Vienna in the summer was not hot, and without the pressure of courses they found life "pleasant."

The high points of each summer were the two long trips that Cutler took, in 1938 with Mrs. Cutler down the Danube to Istanbul, and the following year with Albert Merriam, a longtime friend and Hermonite, to Athens. Both journeys opened up to Cutler countries that he had never before visited, and everywhere he went the evidences of classical and medieval times were plentiful. Along the Danube he inspected the remains of Roman roads, and saw numbers of Trajan's Tabula, which could still be read. It was early September, and the lush fields along the river banks which were ready for harvest thrilled Cutler, who could never resist going ashore at each stopping point and purchasing fresh grapes, peaches, and melons. Istanbul was a wholly new world and a fitting climax to their travels. The return trip was made during the increasing tension of the Munich crisis. The peaceful beauty of the countryside, and the apparent happiness of the people seemed to cry out against the monstrous idea of war, and everyone they questioned, Czechs, Germans, Englishmen, and Bulgarians, made the same reply: "No one wants war." The reality of the situation was abruptly borne in upon them when, upon their return to Vienna, they found themselves plunged in the inky darkness of a practice "blackout."

In late July of 1939, Cutler and Merriam left Vienna for a three week trip to Greece. Cutler kept a diary of this journey, a much more complete record than any of his earlier ones, describing the countries he passed through and their inhabitants and customs. As a good farmer, he noticed that the Austrian fields were planted predominantly in wheat, there were few corn and potato fields. As soon as they crossed the Alps into Italy, he remarked that the "people seemed happy and jovial, more so than where we came from." Arriving in Venice that night, they crowded the following day with sightseeing, boarding the coastal steamer that was to take them to Athens that afternoon. Brief stops were made at Trieste, Fiume and Zara, where Cutler was impressed by the "many reminders of the Romans"—mostly columns—the narrowness of the streets, and the filth of the slums. The ship made port in Gravosa, where the two men entrained for Ragusa, which nestles on a rocky mountainside. Cutler noted the semitropical climate, the cacti, century plants, and palm trees which abounded. At Durazzo, in Albania, he observed with a doctor's trained eye the "miserable, small horses. . . . I never saw such poverty—rags—patches everywhere on their clothing. Malaria is all about—and *dust*. . . . Meat out in the sun—Flies and bees upon it. . . . Hot in the sun—burning heat, and dust, white dust. I saw many sore eyes."⁴¹

Just a week after leaving Vienna, they sailed into the harbor of Piraeus. The country about Athens looked barren. "It seemed as if the people could not live from the land." From their hotel, Cutler and Merriam could look down upon the incredible blueness of the Mediterranean against the deep blue of the sky. In the evening, they ate their dinner on a roof garden, from which they saw the Parthenon lighted by both the full moon and electric lights. Cutler felt there could be "*no more beautiful sight in the world*." The Acropolis, which he visited more than once during his week's stay, affected him as nothing else he had ever seen. It was not just its strikingly perfect beauty, but almost more its connection with an heroic past, and its influence on the arts through the centuries. It thrilled him to think that he was seeing the same buildings on which Thucydides, Socrates, and Paul had gazed. "It was a peculiar privilege to tread upon the same ground that the poets and artists of the past have trod upon."

The return trip took them up the Italian coast, and wherever they were allowed to debark Cutler was struck with the great contrast between the magnificent broad national highways, and the narrow, dirty streets of the

cities, crowded with poor, ill-clad children. That Mussolini had failed to serve the Italian people was to him pitifully apparent.

With his return from Athens, Cutler marked the beginning of his last and most strenuous year of study. The Austrian medical course is six years long, including both course work and an internship, and entitling the graduates not only to the degree of M.D., but also to the state-approved license to practice. The course is difficult and a student may be failed out at any time. Close supervision is maintained by the faculty, in fact after following a pupil for a few years they generally advise him which specialty to pursue. Since Cutler was especially competent in handling exacting microscopic work, and took infinite pains to reach accurate results, it was suggested that he do research in Pathology. Sixteen final examinations, usually spread over a period of one year, were given orally, in an amphitheater, and the public invited to attend. The usual method of covering the practical work was to wheel a patient out in front of the student, saying: "Make your diagnosis." There were no old examination papers that could be studied; as each patient was different so was each examination. Under such an ordeal, many younger men broke and others failed.

From a purely physical standpoint it was a tremendous strain, doubly so for a man in his late seventies. During his last year, Cutler was fortunate enough to have found a young American friend, Dr. Frank Roscoe, who volunteered to help him prepare for his examinations. For weeks on end they worked together, night after night. Time seemed to mean nothing to Cutler, who would study until two and three in the morning, rising again at six-fifteen in order to go to his clinics, for this was also the year of his internship. Drawing recklessly upon his tremendous physical stamina, he never gave himself any opportunity to replenish it. By the late spring of 1940, he began to show the strain of his self-imposed schedule, and his wife and friends tried to persuade him to take a vacation. Relentless in his determination—"I've *got* to make the grade," he once said to Roscoe—he could not rest until he had achieved success.

When occasionally he was persuaded to take a few days off, he was still able to relax and enjoy himself. At Semmering on one winter trip into the mountains, his fun-loving spirit was the joy of a four-year-old who was staying at the same hotel. One evening before supper, Cutler caught sight of his small friend sliding down the polished marble ramp beside the staircase. Impulsively he followed suit, to the horror of his wife and the delight of the

little boy, who greeted him at the bottom with the earnest admonition, "*Sie müssen üben*" ("You must practice").

During all these years he never missed a class or a clinic, even in the worst weather. In Vienna, where he lived a mile and a half from the medical school and hospital, he always walked each way in order to get a maximum of outdoor exercise. Before the Nazis dispersed them, there were along his route dozens of beggars, all of whom knew him, for he could not pass one without giving something. The hospital patients felt great confidence in him, but the children, particularly, loved to see him come. Even the sickest could manage a smile when he entered a ward. His love for them was returned without measure. Rarely was he without some little gift, a small toy, or a candy, but the wise and understanding care he gave meant most to them. He loved even the most irresponsible of his patients and his care of the insane drew the admiration of his classmates. It was the utter absence of hate in his nature that made him stand out. After one class in Psychiatry he turned to Roscoe and said: "You know, hate is a pathological condition."

From May through the last examinations in July, Cutler was an exhausted man, and only the most dogged resolution carried him through. So heavy had been the strain of the work combined with the handicaps of age and language, that even the happy release, when he successfully completed the course, did not restore him to normal health. Although the long struggle left its traces in a marked slowing of his speech, nothing could dim his joy upon receiving his doctor's degree on July 24. At seventy-eight, he was the oldest medical student ever to graduate from the University of Vienna, and probably from any medical school. His heart now set upon returning to East Northfield to practice, he wanted first to finish his clinical training in Vienna.⁴²

During the winter and spring of 1940-41 Cutler attended four clinics, which he particularly enjoyed now that the pressure of final examinations was past. From the American consulate, at the end of the winter, he suddenly received warning to leave Vienna as soon as possible. The Cutlers debated coming home via Lisbon, but the difficulty of getting there, and the uncertainty of air transportation deterred them. Traveling eastward seemed surest. Hastily, they secured passage via Berlin, Moscow, and the Trans-Siberian railroad through Manchuria to Korea, where they caught a ship for Japan and after a brief stay, sailed for the States. They had started

none too soon, for war broke out between Russia and Germany less than a month after their departure, and their ship from Japan was one of the last to leave on schedule before the Pearl Harbor disaster. Cutler was thrilled with his long journey home. The itinerary appealed to him, because it meant traveling across Asia for the first time in his life. Looking forward to it as he always did to something new, he was not disappointed. The fascination of foreign tongues still strong for him, he purchased a Russian grammar (printed in German) and tried to pick up enough of the language to satisfy his daily needs. Alert and eager to learn, he took an interest in everything, his fellow travelers, the Russian countrymen, the cities, and of course the farms.

Cutler's first sight of the United States, at San Francisco, touched him profoundly. For four long years he had been away from home, from his family and his people, and he was happy to return, but not to idleness—to the practice of medicine. Before leaving San Francisco, he and Mrs. Cutler drove up to Palo Alto to call on his beloved former chief in the CRB, Herbert Hoover. Within a day, he was on a train headed east to Northfield. Although warned about his speech difficulty, his children were not fully prepared for the changes that four long, hard years had wrought. Cutler read their minds, and to one he wrote of the relativity of age. "When my father was forty years old I thought he was an old man. I think differently now."⁴³

Soon after they were settled, Cutler set about the task of securing his license to practice in the state of Massachusetts. Upon receipt of his application, the Board of Registration in Medicine voted to grant him a special examination, which took place on February 25, 1942, before an old Hermonite and former school doctor, Abel W. Atwood. Within a few days, Cutler heard from him. "You wrote an excellent paper and your grade is high. The concise definite way in which you answer the questions makes it a pleasure to read them. . . . I wish to congratulate you on the excellent examination you wrote. Very few of the younger graduates equal your marks."⁴⁴ To this success, was added in the spring another academic honor, when the Amherst chapter of Phi Beta Kappa elected him an alumnus member.

Pleasant though they were, neither these honors nor the encouraging words of his friends could erase the consciousness of his increasing speech defect. Less and less able to make people understand even his simplest sen-

tences, he struggled to enunciate any sound. In the fall of 1942, he entered a private hospital in Rhode Island, specializing in afflictions such as his. Cutler took more than three hours of classes a day, spending another two hours of practice moving his palate. At first he was optimistic. "I have lifted the palate 5,200 times muscularly. Martin Hall is doing great things for me."⁴⁵ The early advances were not continued, however, and when he left his fluency steadily decreased, until his wife was the only person who could understand him. It was a poignant tragedy that this man, who had struggled hard to master the power of expression in so many tongues, was unable to communicate even in his own. In making the superhuman effort to gain a medical degree, he had lost the ability to speak without which he could not practice. This was to him a real catastrophe, and it saddened his ninth decade.

If he could not actively practice medicine, he could and did keep informed of all the latest advances. Tirelessly, he attended meetings of the American Medical Association, and listened to symposia from morning until night. Each day of his life he filled with work, hating inaction and wasted minutes, for his world was still full of unexplored opportunities. He increased his reading of history, and kept a vegetable garden that was the envy of all who saw it. Besides the frequent visits with his children, Cutler's greatest joy was his contacts with "old boys," and during these years in Northfield hardly a day went by without a visit from one or a letter from another.

As each year passed, it seemed to the alumni that the meaning of his influence in their lives became clearer. In March of 1944, came a touching tribute from the Metropolitan Hermon Clubs:

. . . you are sitting beside every former Hermon student who ever sat in front of you in Chapel.

It is not likely that they remember an awful lot you said, but all of them carry an imprint you made on them because you were the kind of a man you are. You were straightforward and honest with them. You never placed your interests above theirs.

You never failed to help when help was needed. You never did any grandstanding to be popular. You never deceived them. You went through tragedies without weakening. You had faith in your boys and that gave them faith in themselves.

The honor of having known you and being around you is permanently felt by all of us.⁴⁶

An incident during the visit of one Hermonite gives an affecting picture of Cutler.

I visited him at his home in Northfield. At the time, I was suffering from a severe low back strain which he had observed. On leaving after my visit I was about to put on my rubbers. Dr. Cutler immediately stepped forward saying, "No, no. Let me do that." This great soul, at his advanced age and also suffering from a chronic malady got down on his knees and put on my rubbers as I, one of his former boys at Mt. Hermon, remained standing. You can imagine my feeling upon witnessing this evidence of his devotion to service which continued into his last days.⁴⁷

In the spring of 1945 he suffered a painful fall, which confined him to his bed for a number of days. As his weight made it difficult for him to regain his balance once he started to fall, he found it during these last years increasingly hard to maintain his equilibrium when he became in the least tired. Refusing to limit his activities, he experienced another severe fall in September. The resulting shock so lowered his resistance that he contracted pneumonia. By summoning all his strength and will to live, he managed to convalesce, and was looking forward to returning home, when he suffered a relapse which found him without reserves to meet its onslaught. He died on October 8, 1945, in the Brattleboro Hospital with his wife by his side. Up to the very last, he continued to think of other people, disregarding himself. When one of his sons, who had rushed halfway across the continent to see him, came into his room, Cutler made a desperate effort to speak, then took pencil and paper and scribbled as best he could, "Is your hay fever troubling you?"

In a memorial service held shortly after his death in the Mount Hermon Chapel, the Reverend G. Glenn Atkins, one of the first teachers Cutler had chosen for Mount Hermon, gave the sermon, concluding with these words:

[Cutler's] spirit, I am sure, still broods above the school he loved and served and, if in silence one should ask what he most would care to be remembered for and by he would answer as Wren of St. Paul's. "If you would see my monument look about you. What you see crowns the hill. What you cannot see in generations of youth nobly taught and inspired almost literally girdles the Globe."⁴⁸

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Richard C. Cabot, *Adventures on the Borderland of Ethics* (New York, 1926), 90.

CHAPTER I

1. Material on the genealogy and history of the Cutler and allied families (chiefly the Sibleys, Carys, Kelleys and Hoxies) comes from notes in Dr. Henry F. Cutler's handwriting on a score of scraps of paper: receipted hotel bills, telephone pad paper, hotel stationery, and notepaper of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. The probable date of these memoranda is 1923 when he was applying for membership in the Massachusetts Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. I have also used a copy of Nahum H. Cutler, *A Cutler Memorial and Genealogical History* (Greenfield, Mass., 1889), which contained marginal comments in pencil by Dr. Cutler. (For instance, he noted that his grandfather died of appendicitis.) Also: Dr. Robert Cutler, "Memoirs of the Cutler Family, 1720-1853," in longhand, now in the possession of Mrs. George Cutler of Amherst, Mass.; John O. Austin, *One Hundred and Sixty Allied Families* (Providence, R. I., 1894); Adin Ballou, *History of the Town of Milford* (Boston, 1882), II; William A. Benedict and Hiram A. Tracy, *History of the Town of Sutton, Massachusetts, from 1704 to 1876* (Worcester, Mass., 1878); Josiah H. Temple, *History of North Brookfield, Massachusetts* (Boston, 1887). All manuscript material, unless otherwise noted, is part of the Henry F. Cutler collection, presently in the possession of Mrs. Henry F. Cutler, East Northfield, Massachusetts.

2. Cutler, *Memorial*, believes that James Cutler came from Sprawston, a suburb of Norwich, England. Dr. Robert Cutler says that his father told him that "an old gentleman by the name of Cutler . . . came from some part of Wales." Charles Edward Banks, *The Winthrop Fleet* (Boston, 1930). There is no mention of James Cutler being a passenger in the Winthrop fleet. He undoubtedly came at a later time.

3. Cutler, *Memorial*, 20-21.

4. Harvard University, *Quinquennial Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates, 1636-1930* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), 183. Samuel E. Morison, "Precedence at Harvard in the Seventeenth Century" (reprint from American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, October, 1932), 8. Professor Morison indicates in the first few pages of this article that "the determining principle [of how a man was ranked in his class from about 1735 on] was 'family dignity' which corresponded to a social rank."

5. James Otis Lyford, *History of the Town of Canterbury, N. H.* (Concord, N. H., 1912), I, 94.

6. A Church book belonging to the Church of Christ in Epping, 1747-1761, mostly in the handwriting of the Reverend Robert Cutler, with additions made at the foot of the pages by his children. Now owned by Mrs. George Cutler of Amherst.

7. Offer written probably by Stephen Fisk, Town Clerk, dated September 4, 1749. Paper is in the possession of Mr. Leslie C. Ricketts, Orange, N. J.

8. The Reverend William Patrick, *Sketches of the History of Canterbury, New Hampshire* (New Hampshire Historical Society, *Collections*, IV), 178.

9. *Ibid.*, 176. "The Fathers of the ministry say,—'We are properly affected with your circumstances, as dwelling in the wilderness, and exposed to the insults and barbarities of a cruel and savage enemy.'" The French and Indian War was in progress at the time. Also Cutler, *Memoirs*, 3: ". . . Canterbury . . . where I lived for three years and where I was daily exposed to be taken and killed by the savages and once nearly escaped from them."

10. J. Farmer and J. B. Moore, *Collections, Historical and Miscellaneous and Monthly Literary Journal* (Concord, N. H., 1823), II, 363.

11. Manuscript copy of Greenwich petition to the Government of Massachusetts Bay for a tax on non-resident proprietors and owners who refused to settle, dated May 24, 1762. Owned by Mr. Ricketts. Also to be found in *The Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of*

the Province of Massachusetts Bay: to Which are Prefixed the Charter of the Province (Boston, 1910), XVII, 343. A one-penny tax per acre for a space of four years with two exceptions was granted on February 19, 1763.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Greenwich Assessors' deed to Robert Cutler, September 1, 1768. In the possession of Mr. Ricketts.

14. Original signed order of Greenwich selectmen. In the possession of Mr. Ricketts.

15. Undated prescription in the Reverend Robert Cutler's handwriting. In the possession of Mr. Ricketts.

16. *The Amherst Record* (Amherst, Mass.), December 19, 1883, 8.

17. Section of the will of the Reverend Robert Cutler in his handwriting. In the possession of Mr. Ricketts.

18. *The Amherst Record*, *loc. cit.*, also the *Athol Transcript*, July 19, 1904, 2.

19. *The Amherst Record*, *loc. cit.*

20. This is malaria. Almost all who moved West caught it. The Anopheles mosquitoes bred easily in the undrained, undisciplined new lands.

21. Letter from R. A. Cutler, Prairie River, Michigan, to Daniel Cutler, April 22, 1838. In the possession of Mr. Ricketts.

22. Benedict and Tracy, *Sutton*, 717.

23. *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War* (Boston, 1906), XIV, 783, 198.

24. Benedict and Tracy, *Sutton*, 211.

25. S. F. Cary, *Cary Memorials* (Cincinnati, 1874). The copy I used was annotated by HFC.

26. May 27, 1862, is the date given on HFC's birth certificate, issued to him by the town of Greenwich in 1916. *The Springfield Weekly Republican* of June 14, 1862, recorded his birth as May 28, 1862.

27. *Springfield Weekly Republican*, May 31, 1862, 1.

28. Greenwich, *Record of Town Meetings*, III, September 2, 1862.

29. Material for this section on Greenwich comes from: William B. Gay, *Gazetteer of Hampshire County, Mass., 1654-1887* (Syracuse, 1896), part first; Josiah G. Holland, *History of Western Massachusetts* (Springfield, 1855), II; Clifton Johnson, *Historic Hampshire in the Connecticut Valley* (Springfield, Mass., 1932); Elias Nason, *A Gazetteer*

of the State of Massachusetts (Boston, 1874); *Western Massachusetts, a History 1636-1925* (New York, 1926).

I have inspected the valley from the Quabbin Dam Tower, near Belchertown, looking at the flooded land with the aid of a Metropolitan District Commission map. I have had the township described to me by four former residents. I have also used the United States Geological Survey map, Belchertown sheet, surveyed in 1865 and 1887, partially revised in 1933.

30. Holland, *op. cit.*, II, 211; Nason, *op. cit.*, 235; Gay, *op. cit.*, 272.

31. Holland, *op. cit.*, 214.

32. *Athol Transcript*, July 19, 1904, 2.

33. Holland, *op. cit.*, II, 214.

34. Mrs. Fred Fisk, Orange, Mass., HFC's sister, believes that her father, Daniel Smith Cutler, owned about 160 acres. I have been able to find about 165 acres belonging to D. S. Cutler in the following places: Registry of Deeds, Hampshire County, Northampton, Mass., Bk. 547, 157; Bk. 562, 379; Bk. 653, 8, and records of the Metropolitan District Commission at the Windsor Dam, Belchertown, Mass. *The Annual Reports of the Town of Greenwich, 1885-1886*, page 4, assess the value of Daniel S. Cutler's property as follows: "1 horse 100, 2 oxen 120, 6 cows 195, 3 two year old 55, 1 sheep 5, 2 swine 10, carriage 25, 2 houses 400, barn 350, corn and wagon house 50, farm 60a 1100, meadow lot 36a 1000—Tot. val. 2900—tax 41.79." *The Official Reports of the Town of Prescott for the Financial Year 1885-1886*, page 23, "Smith Cutler, Greenwich [D. S. Cutler was often officially called Smith Cutler] Land 69a 700, tax 8.75."

35. Cutler Papers. Undated, unnumbered.

36. Cutler Papers. Much of the material in this section comes from a page and a half written by HFC, c. 1942, about his boyhood accidents. I talked at length with his sister, Mrs. Fred Fisk; with his son, Mr. H. H. Cutler of Three Oaks, Michigan; with a schoolmate, Mrs. Clara F. Lincoln, Northampton, Mass., and with his district schoolteacher, Mrs. Jessie S. Sinnott, Bridgewater, Mass.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Amherst Record*, December 19, 1883, 8.

42. Interview with HFC's sister, Mrs. Fred Fisk.

43. Interview with Mrs. Fred Fisk.

44. Letter from HFC, East Northfield, Mass., to H. H. Cutler, September 2, 1937.

45. HFC speaks of Jeremiah going to Amherst in his letter to his son, H. H. Cutler, on September 2, 1937. Jeremiah's gravestone, now in the Quabbin Dam Cemetery, mentions that he had given promise of brilliance. I have found no record of Jeremiah being a student at Amherst.

46. E. P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States* (Cambridge, 1919 ed.), 239-240.

47. Edward H. Reisner, *The Evolution of the Common School* (New York, 1930), 308-309: ". . . in 1800 a law gave the inhabitants of the school districts the right to hold district school meetings to determine upon sites for school buildings and to tax themselves for all school purposes. The extreme step in the evolution of the district system of Massachusetts occurred when the law of 1827 provided for the election of a prudential committee of one for each district to have responsibility for the care of the school property and the power to select and appoint the teacher for his district."

48. *Ibid.*, 310.

49. *Ibid.*, 312.

50. This section on the Greenwich schools is based upon the school committee reports from 1866 through 1878, excepting the two years 1874-1876.

51. I have not seen the reports for 1874-1876. It is most probable that D. S. Cutler was a member of the school committee during these years, since he was a member the two previous years and the one following.

52. *Annual Report of the School Committee of the Town of Greenwich for the School Year, 1867-1868* (Ware, 1868), 6.

53. *Annual Report, 1869-1870* (Ware, 1870), 6.

54. *Ibid.*, 6.

55. *Ibid.*, 5.

56. *Annual Report, 1867-1868* (Ware, 1868).

57. *Annual Report, 1877-1878* (Belcher-town, 1878), 8.

58. *Ibid.*, 7.

59. *Annual Report, 1873-1874* (Ware, 1874), 7.

60. HFC to Mrs. C. P. Sinnott (Jessie Smith), 1876, as reported to me in November of 1946 by Mrs. Sinnott.

61. *Annual Report, 1876-1877* (Belcher-town, 1877), 5.

62. Mrs. Sinnott.

63. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER II

1. Daniel Smith Cutler attended New Salem Academy in 1848. In the fall term of 1851 Phebe E. Sibley, of Prescott, is listed in the catalogue of that year as attending the academy. Phebe was Adaline S. Sibley's (Henry's mother's) sister. It is probable that, if one Sibley daughter was sent to the academy, the other sister would also be sent. The children in the Cutler District School felt, according to Mrs. Clara F. Lincoln, that Henry Cutler should answer correctly the questions asked him because his parents were better educated than those of the other children. This must have meant New Salem Academy.

2. New Salem Academy, *Reunion Banner*, August 18, 1927, 32; *Reunion Banner*, August 19, 1909, 19: "From my earliest recollection I wanted to go to college and New Salem Academy was for me the nearest and best way to get there."

3. *Acts and Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1794-1795* (Boston, 1896), 88-89.

4. *Acts and Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1796-1797* (Boston, 1896), 533; I. L. Kandel, *Twenty-Five Years of American Education* (New York, 1929), 395.

5. Photograph of New Salem Academy c. 1880 in *Reunion Banner*, August 17, 1939, 48.

6. *Catalogue of New Salem Academy* (Greenfield, Mass., 1851), 12. The cost of tuition varied according to the number and type of subjects taken. The Common English Courses, Elementary Arithmetic, Grammar, Reading, Spelling, and Geography, were \$5.00 per term in 1877, the Higher English courses were \$7.50, as were French, Greek, Geometry, Mental and Moral Philosophy.

7. *Reunion Banner*, August 18, 1927, 32.

8. *Pamphlet of New Salem Academy*, 1877.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Denver Evening News*, March 29,

1928; *The Glory that was Gold, The Central City Opera House, A Permanent Memorial to Colorado Pioneers* (Denver, 1932), 56. This material on W. H. Smiley's life came from the contents of his folder in the Archives of Harvard University. It included clippings from the *Harvard Bulletin* of June 7, 1911, *The Denver Evening News*, March 29, 1928, other undated clippings, and the above-mentioned paragraphs from the pamphlet titled "The Glory that was Gold."

11. Cf. footnote 16. W. H. Smiley was the only teacher present.

12. *Reunion Banner*, August 21, 1913, 18.

13. *Ibid.*, August 18, 1927, 32.

14. *Ibid.*, 20.

15. *The Hermonite*, June 24, 1893, 185.

16. *Reunion Banner*, August 18, 1927, 32.

17. *Ibid.*, August 19, 1909, 19.

18. *The Vermont Phoenix, and Recorder and Farmer*, November 19, 1880.

19. Letter from HFC, Guilford, Vt., to his mother, December 18, 1880.

20. Letter from HFC, Guilford, Vt., to "Friends at home," November 30, 1880. (This is the earliest letter of Henry's still extant).

21. *Ibid.*

22. *The Hermonite*, June 24, 1893, 185.

23. From interview with Mrs. H. F. Cutler. This incident is also among her written notes.

24. Most of this information comes from an interview with Mrs. Joseph Lowry, née Ryan, Guilford, Vt. HFC boarded with the Ryans in 1880-81.

25. HFC's letter to his mother, *op. cit.*

26. I have no reliable proof of this. I have decided that this must be so after talking with Mrs. Joseph Lowry and from the *General Catalogue and History of Powers Institute, Its Teachers and Pupils* (Greenfield, 1896), 67. This book says that HFC was a member of the class of 1881. The statistics for this book were taken from the old school records which had mildewed. These old records, I have been told, were destroyed. *The Hermonite*, June 24, 1893, intimates that HFC went to Powers Institute the year he entered Amherst. This article, however, was not based on an interview with HFC. His sister, Mrs. Fred Fisk, is not sure when he went to Powers Institute, but she feels certain that he was there in the spring of 1881.

27. There is no information that can be accurately checked on where HFC was during the year 1881-1882. There is little doubt that he spent his summers in Greenwich. His sister, Mrs. Fred Fisk, does not remember whether he was at home during the winter 1881-1882 or not. The above mentioned article in *The Hermonite* of 1893 says that he taught in Guilford for two years. It is probable that he returned to Guilford to teach another term because he did not enter Amherst until the fall of 1882.

28. *Amherst Catalogue, 1881-1882* (Amherst, 1881), 22-25.

29. U. S. Census for Amherst in 1880: population, 4298.

30. W. S. Tyler, *A History of Amherst College* (New York, 1895), 300. *Amherst College Catalogue, 1882-1883* (Amherst, 1882), 9-23. *Class Book 1886* (Amherst, 1886).

31. Thomas Le Duc, *Piety and Intellect at Amherst College, 1865-1912* (New York, 1946), 49.

32. *Ibid.*, 45, 46.

33. *Amherst College Catalogue, 1882-1883*, 40.

34. Le Duc, *op. cit.*, 49.

35. While Seelye himself believed in the Genesis version of the Flood, he allowed Professor Emerson of the Geology Department to conduct a Bible class on "a geological account of the Deluge." HFC's Diary, March 14, 1886.

36. Claude M. Fuess, *Amherst, the Story of a New England College* (Boston, 1935).

37. Le Duc, *op. cit.*, 23.

38. *Anthropometric Record of Students of Amherst College, 1871-1881*.

39. *Amherst College, Olio*, 1887, 11.

40. *Statistics of the Students Entering College, 1882-1883, Class of 1886*.

41. *Hermonite*, June 24, 1893, 185.

42. Material for the years January 1, 1883-December 31, 1889, is almost exclusively taken from HFC's diary which was kept without a break during that entire time. Diary, February 10, 1883.

43. Diary, March 5, 6, 1883: "... I don't know as I can get a better opportunity to work."

44. Professor Richard H. Mather, Professor of Greek and Lecturer on the Scriptures. Diary, May 2, June 20, 1883.

45. Diary, October 1, 1883.
46. *The Laws and Regulations of Amherst College* (Amherst, Mass., 1878), XI.
47. Alfred E. Stearns, *An Amherst Boyhood* (Amherst, Mass., 1946).
48. Diary, September 25, 1884. This did not injure their future friendship. They were good friends for many years. HFC went out of his way to help Mr. Treadway when he repeatedly and successfully ran for political office.
49. Diary, October 22, 1884.
50. *The Amherst Student*, September 15, 1883, 11.
51. I have been unable to locate any mention of the publishing firm of John S. Wiley, or of the Standard Publishing House also mentioned in HFC's salesman's letter of credit and salesman's agreement. Professor Edward Hitchcock was HFC's surety and his classmate Charles A. Guild signed as witness to the surety's signature. The title *Worth and Wealth* is mentioned in this form in the salesman's agreement. There is no mention of the author, nor is the author's name mentioned in HFC's diary.
52. Diary, June 28–July 5, 1884. HFC did receive letters from the publishing firm, trying to persuade him to return to his travels, but they availed nothing.
53. HFC placed one of these handbills in his diary for the year 1883.
54. Diary, July 13, 1885.
55. Diary, September 10, 1885.
56. Diary, September 26, October 7, 8, 21, 27, 28, 1885. HFC kept careful accounts of the money he received and spent, yet there is no mention of income from the store until December, when it is listed as "company" money. The amount he received under the headings "Record" and "company" for the months October, 1885, through June, 1886, totaled \$158.99. Of this \$71.00 was from Record. He mentions in the narrative section of his diary that he and Guild received \$100.00 on October 30, 1885. This figure, or HFC's share of it, is not recorded in his accounts. Cutler and Guild probably had to send this money to a book firm. Diary, June 30, 1886. HFC received his final payment from Record the same day he was awarded his diploma and was enabled only then to settle his final college bills.
57. Diary, September 13, 18, October 14, November 19, December 7, 1885.
58. Diary, May 3, 1883.
59. Diary, November 1, 1883.
60. Diary, September 19, 1883.
61. *Ibid.*, "... he [Mather] said if I could not pay for my board he would see what he could do about it." I believe Professor Mather helped HFC. He had already taken an interest in him. He knew how good a worker he was and how badly he needed the money. HFC had spoken to him about the scholarship in September. See also Diary, November 10, 1883.
62. Diary, September 15, November 5, 1885.
63. *Catalogue of Amherst College, 1884–1885*, 24.
64. Diary, April 13, 1883; October 13, 16, 29, December 2, 6, 17, 1885.
65. Diary, January 6, 8, 21, February 5, 6, 15, 19, March 14, April 16, 19, May 8, 1883.
66. Diary, October 16, 1883.
67. Diary, September 22, 1883.
68. Diary, October 29, 1883: "It certainly is not play to learn it and really to learn it."
69. Diary, January 23, 1883.
70. HFC, Henry II of Scotland 1154–1189.
71. Diary, September 12, 18, 20, 21, October 4, 5, 22, 25, 29, November 2, 14, 20, 22, 23, 24, 27, December 4, 6, 11, 12, 14, 1883. January 19, 22, 24, February 4, 5, 9, 11, 18, March 17, 18, 19, 22, 27, 28, April 21, May 12, 20, 26, 1884.
72. Diary, January 17, 1885.
73. Diary, January 29, 1885; Martin John Spalding, *The History of the Protestant Reformation* (Baltimore, 1876).
74. Diary, September 17, October 1, 1885; Le Duc, *op. cit.*, 78.
75. Diary, January 18, 1886.
76. Fuess, *Amherst*, 239.
77. Le Duc, *op. cit.*, 118.
78. Diary, October 25, 1884.
79. Diary, March 12, April 29, May 7, 9, 15, 17, 29, 30, June 5, 8, 1883.
80. Diary, November 11, 13, 15, December 13, 1885.
81. Diary, October 13, 1883; February 13, 1884; March 20, 1884.
82. Fuess, *Amherst*, 194.
83. Diary, February 15, 21, 1883.
84. George R. Cutting, *Student Life at Amherst College* (Amherst, Mass., 1871), 62.

85. Diary, February 13, 1885.
86. *Prayer Meeting Topics 1885-1886, Class of 1886*. "Sabbath Evening 5.30 to 6 P.M."; Diary, January 31, 1886.
87. Diary, February 15-23, 1885.
88. Diary, January 26, December 12, 1883; January 18, 22, 24, 1884; January 24, November 6, 1885; April 21, 30, 1886; January 27, March 10, April 15, May 24, September 26, November 27, 1883; November 26, 1885; March 2, 1886.
89. Diary, June 4, 1886.
90. Diary, January 24, April 28, May 2, 8, 16, June 12, 1883; May 24, June 11, 1884; May 16, 1885; April 26, May 21, 1886.
91. Diary, December 7, 1883.
92. Diary, March 16, December 7, 1883; January 25, February 1, 2, 20, 25, March 10, May 2, June 4, November 17, 1884; January 25, 30, 1885; January 16, 22, May 3, 11, 21, 1886.
93. Diary, June 13, 1886.
94. Fuess, *Amherst*, 219.
95. Diary, January 11, 1885.
96. Diary, September 13, 1885.
97. Diary, April 29, June 3, September 9, 1883; January 20, April 20, 1884; January 11, September 13, 1885.
98. Diary, February 18, December 9, 1883; May 12, 1884; February 26, 28, 1886.
99. Diary, September 27, 28, 1884.
100. Diary, May 27, 1883.
101. Diary, May 1, 1883; March 15, 19, May 19, October 9, 1883; May 30, 31, 1884.
102. *Amherst Graduates Quarterly*, February 1946, 166.
103. Diary, May 26, 1883.
104. *Olio*, 1888, 73.
10. Testimonial letter from Dr. Edward Hitchcock, Amherst, Mass., June 29, 1886.
11. Diary, June 30, 1886.
12. Diary, June 27, 1886.
13. Diary, July 4, 1886.
14. Diary, July 6, 1886.
15. HFC wrote down in his diary what he did each day on the farm during the summers of 1883-1886. I chose material for this paragraph from accounts of some of the following days: June 22, July 2, 4, 14, 27, 28, 30, August 7, 8, 15, 18, 21, 25, 1883; July 7, 8, 16, 26, August 9, 26, 27, September 1, 2, 3, 4, 1884; August 9, 1885.
16. Diary, August 10, 1885.
17. Diary, August 15, 1886.
18. Diary, August 26, 1886.
19. She married Mr. William Nichols, teacher, cashier, and later treasurer of the schools. Diary, July 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 18, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31, August 6-10, 26, 28, September 2, 4, 1886.
20. Letter from Lizzie H. Robinson, Mount Hermon, Mass., to Henry F. Cutler, September 9, 1886.
21. Diary, September 12, 1886.
22. Diary, September 13, 1886.
23. Diary, September 15, 1886.
24. Henry W. Rankin, *Handbook of the Northfield Seminary and the Mount Hermon School* (Chicago, 1889), 140.
25. *Mount Hermon School* (Boston 1886), 6.
26. W. R. Moody, *D. L. Moody* (New York, 1931), 319.
27. Address of the Reverend Charles A. Brooks at the 1916 35th Anniversary of Mount Hermon, *Mount Hermon Alumni Quarterly*, XV, 1, September 1916, 20.
28. Rankin, *op. cit.*, 186; 89.
29. *Ibid.*, 154.
30. Most of the material on Mount Hermon in the Eighties came from Thomas Coyle, *The Story of Mount Hermon* (Mount Hermon, Mass., 1906), Henry W. Rankin, *Handbook*, and the *Mount Hermon School* (Boston, 1886).
31. Diary, September 16, 1886.
32. Diary, September 16, 20, 21, 24, 1886.
33. Diary, September 24, 1886.
34. Diary, October 26, 1886.
35. Diary, September 27, October 26, November 18, 19, 30, 1886.

CHAPTER III

1. Diary, June 30, 1886.
2. Diary, January 20, 1886.
3. Diary, February 13, 1886.
4. Diary, March 19, 1886.
5. Letter from President J. H. Seelye, Amherst, Mass., April 23, 1886.
6. Diary, January 25, 1886.
7. Diary, January 18, 20, March 6, 9, May 1, 18, 20, June 7, 8, 11, 25, 26, 1886.
8. Testimonial letter from Professor E. P. Crowell, Amherst, Mass., June 13, 1886.
9. Testimonial letter from Professor W. S. Tyler, Amherst, Mass., June 29, 1886.

36. This incident was reported by one of the students of that year, an eyewitness.

37. Diary, October 1, 14, December 11, 1886; March 1, 25, June 19, 20, 23, 24, 1887.

38. Diary, January 3, 1887.

39. Diary, December 17, 23, 24, 30, 31, 1886; January 1-3, 6, 7, 28, 1887.

40. Diary, January 15, 1887.

41. Diary, November 29, December 1, 27, 1886; March 12, 16, 1887.

42. Diary, September 22, November 25, 1886; February 28, March 7, April 29, May 11, June 13, 1887.

43. *Harriet Louise Ford Cutler, Teacher, Wife, Mother, Friend* (East Northfield, Mass., n.d.), 17.

44. *Ibid.*, 16.

45. *Ibid.*, 24.

46. *Ibid.*, 31.

47. The preceding two paragraphs describing Miss Harriet L. Ford were based primarily on the material contained in the first four chapters of *Harriet Louise Ford Cutler, Teacher, Wife, Mother, Friend*.

48. *Ibid.*, 51.

49. Diary, October 8, 1886.

50. *Harriet Louise Ford Cutler, op. cit.*, 51.

51. Diary, November 29, December 1, 1886; April 26, 1887 on studying German at the Number Four Cottage; on seeing Miss Ford, October 8, December 10, 1886; January 18, March 9, 14, 19, 1887; on exchange of notes, February 24, March 23, 1887; *Harriet Louise Ford Cutler, op. cit.*, 52.

52. Diary, February 28, 1887.

53. Diary, April 1-10, 1887.

54. Diary, May 4, 5, 1887.

55. Diary, June 14, 1887.

56. Testimonial letter written in longhand by Henry E. Sawyer, June 27, 1887.

57. Diary, June 28, 1887.

58. Diary, June 28-30, 1887.

CHAPTER IV

1. William F. Lee was the Treasurer of Mount Hermon. His home was at 679 Madison Avenue.

2. This section on HFC's stay in New York is based on his own notes kept in a 7 x 4 1/4 inch notebook.

3. The fire that he saw was undoubtedly the one that started in the basement of a

building at 343 Broadway where fireworks were stored. *The New York Herald*, July 3, 1887, describes its start as follows: "A noise like the rattle of musketry was heard soon after three o'clock." The *Arabic* sailed at 3:30 p.m. The *Arabic* was torpedoed in the first World War and the incident brought the United States closer to war with the Central Powers.

4. Diary, August 26, 1887.

5. The material on the Institut Rudy is based partially on HFC's account in his diary and partially on his copy of a pamphlet describing the Institut Rudy printed in Paris probably in 1887.

6. Diary, August 6, 1887. All the following excerpts from HFC's diary are translated from the French or German.

7. *Paris*, an unpublished paper by HFC, written c. 1911.

8. *Trente-Huitième Rapport de L'Institut de Glay* (Lausanne, 1888).

9. HFC, *Paris, op. cit.* 29.

10. Diary, August and September, 1887.

11. Diary, October 1, 1887.

12. Diary, October 28, 1887.

13. Diary, October 13, 1887.

14. From unpublished paper on France by HFC, written about 1918.

15. Diary, January 10, 1888.

16. Diary, January 13, 1888.

17. See Appendix A.

18. Diary, January 24, July 18, February 22, 1888.

19. Letter from HFC, Glay, France, to Miss Harriet L. Ford, June 3, 1888.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Diary, May 11, 1888.

22. HFC's letter, June 3, 1888, *op. cit.*

23. Diary, June 21, 1888.

24. HFC's letter, June 3, 1888, *op. cit.*

25. Diary, June 29, 30, 1888.

26. Diary, January 25, 1889.

27. Diary, September 10, 1888.

28. Diary, September 9, 1888. This sentence was written in English.

29. Testimonial letter from G. Macler, Glay, France, September 10, 1888.

30. *Rapport de L'Institut de Glay, op. cit.*

31. Diary, September 12, 1888.

32. Class schedule, written by HFC on graph paper; Diploma of Admission of HFC, dated December 5, 1888; certificate crediting him with successful completion of one term's

work at the École de Théologie de Genève, dated April 15, 1889.

33. Diary, October 25, 1888.
34. Diary, October 30, 1888.
35. Diary, April 17, 1889.
36. Diary, April 18, 1889.
37. Diary, April 19, 1889.
38. HFC's *Anmeldebuch* at the Royal Frederick-William University.
39. This dictionary was in HFC's library at the time of his death and was given to the Schaffler Library of the Mount Hermon School by Mrs. H. F. Cutler.
40. Diary, May 22, 29, 1889.
41. Diary, May 25, 1889.
42. Diary, May 31, 1889. HFC kept the programs to all the plays and operas he saw while in Berlin. They are now in the Schaffler Library at the Mount Hermon School.
43. Diary, June 15, 1889.
44. Letter from Dr. George M. Philips, West Chester, Pa., to HFC, June 1, 1889.
45. See Appendix B.
46. Letter from Dr. G. M. Philips, West Chester, Pa., to HFC, July 7, 1889.
47. Diary, August 10, 1889.
48. *Catalogue, 1946-1947 Season, State Teachers College Bulletin* (West Chester, Pa., 1946), LXXIV, 2, 19.
49. This leaflet is pasted in West Chester State Normal School Scrap Album of the years June 1889 to June 1893.
50. Diary, October 21, 1889.
51. Letter from H. D. Newson & Co., New York City, to HFC, June 26, 1890.
52. Letter from Henry W. Rankin to D. L. Moody, December 29, 1888.
53. Letter from Harriet L. Ford, East Northfield, Mass., to Henry F. Cutler, June 15, 1890.
54. Letter from Henry F. Cutler, West Chester, Pa., to D. L. Moody, July 1, 1890.
55. *The Aryan Review*, 1890, 18.

CHAPTER V

1. Letter from D. L. Moody, East Northfield, Mass., to HFC, July 30, 1890. This letter belongs to the Mount Hermon School.
2. *The Hermonite*, September 27, 1890, 4; *Gazette and Courier*, Greenfield Mass., September 6, 1890, 5. The *Gazette and Courier* printed a figure of 310 boys. The following figures on the makeup of the school in 1890 were arrived at by using those available for the years before and after 1890. I was unable to get from the school files statistics for the year 1890-91.
3. *Mount Hermon Catalogue, 1890* (Boston, 1891).
4. D. L. Moody, *Weighed and Wanting, or Tested by the Ten Commandments* (Chicago, 1898), 55.
5. Letter from Henry W. Rankin to D. L. Moody, December 29, 1886.
6. D. L. Moody, *The Way to God*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1912), 86.
7. Undated MS address written by HFC in longhand.
8. W. T. Grenfell, *A Labrador Doctor*, 8th ed. (Boston, 1922), 427.
9. Dwight Lyman Moody (1837-1899).
10. Robert E. Speer, "D. L. Moody," *Northfield Schools Bulletin*, XX, 1, 4, 17, 23.
11. Speech delivered by HFC to the New York Mount Hermon Alumni Club, February, 1932.
12. *The Outlook*, January, 1900.
13. Francis G. Peabody, *Reminiscences of Present Day Saints* (Boston, 1927). Chapter on Henry Drummond.
14. Rankin letter, *op. cit.*
15. Bradford, *op. cit.*, 259.
16. Letter from D. L. Moody, San Jose, California, to HFC, March 22, 1899. This belongs to the Mount Hermon School.
17. Letter from D. L. Moody to HFC, June 1, —. This belongs to Mount Hermon.
18. Letter from D. L. Moody, Harrisburg, to HFC, May 2, —. This belongs to Mount Hermon.
19. D. L. Moody, *Pleasure and Profit in Bible Study* (Chicago, 1895), 5, 7.
20. *Ibid.*, 8, 11.
21. Moody, *Weighed and Wanting, op. cit.*, 47.
22. *Ibid.*, 52, 56.
23. Letter from the Class of 1891, Frank T. Love, Sec'y., to HFC, 1932.
24. *The Hermonite*, September 27, 1890, 1.
25. MS. essay of G. Glenn Atkins about HFC (1946), 6.
26. Letter from D. L. Moody, London, to HFC, June 30, 1892. Belongs to Mount Hermon.
27. Letter from HFC, West Chester, Pa., to D. L. Moody, July 1, 1890. Belongs to Mount Hermon.
28. Also from West Chester, Miss Walcott, Miss George, Mr. Chapin, Mr. Siling.

29. Atkins, *op. cit.*, 1, 2.
30. *Ibid.*, 5.
31. Report of the Principal to the Trustees, 1896-1897, 4, 5.
32. Atkins, *op. cit.*, 5.
33. Undated paper in HFC's handwriting, now in the possession of the Mount Hermon School.
34. Report of the Meeting of the Teachers of Mount Hermon School, 1890-1924, January 11, 1895.
35. *Catalogue of Mount Hermon School, 1890-91* (Boston, 1891), 11.
36. C. W. Eliot, *Educational Reform* (New York, 1898), 202, 214.
37. *Annual Report of the President of Harvard University, 1891-1892* (Cambridge, 1892), 72.
38. Letter from C. W. Eliot, Northeast Harbor, Me., to HFC, August 1, 1892. This letter belongs to the Mount Hermon School.
39. Record of the Meetings of the Teachers of Mount Hermon, October 27, 1893; Report of the Principal of Mount Hermon, 1893-1894.
40. *Annual Report of the President of Harvard University, 1891-92* (Cambridge, Mass., 1893), 223: "This report should cover the proportionate attention given to the subject in which he has examined a school . . . its relative weight in determining the pupils' advancement; the methods of teaching; the quality and range of the books used; the quality and quantity of the apparatus; and the tests applied for teaching purposes or for determining the progress of pupils. The report should also comment on the general atmosphere of the school—whether kindly, inspiring, and refining, or otherwise; and it should further include the examiner's recommendations, based on his experience, concerning the most effective and satisfactory ways of conducting examinations for the Board."
41. Schools' Examination Board Report, Mount Hermon, 1. In the Archives of Harvard University, Widener Library, Cambridge, Mass.
42. Separate report of Dean Le B. R. Briggs, 1.
43. Separate report of Prof. Paul H. Hanus, 6.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*, 2.
46. Numerical composition of Courses of

instruction as recorded in the principal's yearly reports, 1894-1899

	1893-94	1894-95	1895-96	1896-97	1897-98	1898-99
Classical	97	62	76	70	50	58
Scientific	61	25	28	25	17	17
Specials	24	25	35	15	3	1
Latin-						
Scientific	23	14	23	22	29	31
Elective		33	35	20	59	73
Preparatory			170	146	194	248

47. Separate report of Prof. Ephraim Emerton, 2.
48. Schools' Examination Board Report, 2, 3.
49. Cf. Edith Finch, *Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr* (New York, 1947), 86, 87, 119-120: ". . . a German university, that Mecca of American students toward the end of the nineteenth century. . . ." Carey Thomas felt "she must take a degree from a German university, . . . to remedy the great failing of American women teachers, and most men—their want of scholarship."
50. MS essay by HFC on the German educational system.
51. *Harriet Louise Ford Cutler, op. cit.*, 84.
52. MS notes by HFC. Paper bears the seal of the Allan Line, Royal Mail Steamers.
53. Arthur P. Stanley, *Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D.* (London, n.d.), 71. Underlined and annotated by HFC.
54. H. C. Bradby, *Rugby* (London, 1900), 56. With annotations by HFC.
55. MS notes by HFC.
56. *The Hermonite*, March 30, 1901, 140.
57. Report of the Meetings of the Teachers of Mount Hermon School, January 8, 1892.
58. Atkins, *op. cit.*, 5.
59. *The Hermonite*, March 3, 1901.
60. Atkins, *op. cit.*, 5.
61. *The Hermonite*, June 24, 1893, 185.
62. *Ibid.*, 186.
63. *The Hermonite*, March 3, 1901.
64. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VI

1. Rankin, *op. cit.*, 10.
2. Report of the Principal of Mount Hermon, 1899-1900.
3. Essay by W. Y. Duncan on "What of the Religion at Mount Hermon under the Direction of Dr. Cutler?"

4. Bradford, *op. cit.*, 62.
5. Speech by HFC to the New York Mount Hermon Club, February 20, 1925.
6. Undated MSS of HFC's speech to the Alumni.
7. For example in Genesis 39:2, The King James version describes Joseph when the Lord was with him as a "prosperous man" and HFC notes that Tyndale's version is a "lucky man."
8. Arthur P. Stanley, *Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D.* (London, undated), 62. The copy I have used was probably purchased by HFC in England during his visit in the winter of 1900-01. He has underlined many passages, among which is the one I have used.
9. Chapel talk by HFC. Original has been lost, carbon copy remains in files of Alumni office, Mount Hermon School.
10. Longhand note in stenographer's notebook kept by HFC.
11. Carbon copy of chapel talk by HFC on April 26, 1923. A student took this talk down in shorthand without his knowledge.
12. HFC's Bible, 473, 886, 930.
13. Principal's Report, 1904-1905, 3.
14. *Mount Hermon Alumni Quarterly*, September, 1911, 8.
15. *Alumni Quarterly*, March, 1924, 67.
16. Matthew 18:19, 20.
17. Teachers' meeting, September 7, 1900. "The usual half hour of prayer. . ."
18. Winfred E. Garrison, *The March of Faith, the Story of Religion in America since 1865* (New York, 1933), 272.
19. Interview with Mr. Horace H. Morse, Mount Hermon School.
20. *Mount Hermon Alumni Quarterly*, June, 1930, 101.
21. On page 598 of his Bible HFC has underlined this verse and written beneath it in the margin: "(Object of Education)."
22. Ralph W. Sockman, "The Length of a Full Life," National Radio Pulpit Program, May 4, 1947.

the National Society for the Study of Education (Bloomington, Ill., 1926), 40.

2. *Ibid.*, 34.
3. Cf. underlinings by HFC in his copy of H. C. Bradby's *Rugby* (London, 1900), 55. This copy belongs to Mount Hermon School.
4. Principal's Report, 1908-1909, 7.
5. *Ibid.*, 8.
6. *Ibid.*, 10.
7. Principal's Report, 1902-1903, 1.
8. Principal's Report, 1896-1897, 3.
9. Principal's Report, 1902-1903, 2.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Report of the Teachers' Meetings, February 13, 1903.
12. Report of the Teachers' Meetings, October 3, 1902.
13. Principal's Report, 1907-1908, 3.
14. Report of the Teachers' Meetings, September 6, 1907.
15. Principal's Report, 1908-1909, 4.
16. Principal's Report, 1911-1912, 2, 3, 4.
17. Principal's Report, 1909-1910, 4.
18. Principal's Report, 1926-1927, 1.
19. The figures used in the paragraph were taken from the Principal's Report for the years 1897-98, 1899-1900, 1915-1916, 1929-1930.
20. Principal's Report, 1914-1915, 17.
21. Principal's Report, 1914-1915, 4.
22. Interview with Mr. Carroll Rikert, April 16, 1947, Mount Hermon, Mass.
23. *Mount Hermon Alumni Quarterly*, XXII, December 1923, 39.
24. Carroll Rikert, "Agricultural Education at Mount Hermon School, 1904-1941," 1. This belongs to Mr. Rikert. It is an invaluable and careful report on the subject by a graduate of the school and one time instructor in Agriculture.
25. Quoted by Carroll Rikert, *op. cit.*, 3, 4.
26. Principal's Report, 1914-1915, 17.
27. *The Boston Evening Transcript*, July 27, 1907. The article was entitled "A Bay State Bonanza Farm."
28. Principal's Report, 1903-1904, 2. "In regard to The Departments of Instruction in the school we would say that it has been our purpose to secure the strongest teachers possible to be the heads of the different departments."
29. Report of the Teachers' Meetings, December 9, 1904.

CHAPTER VII

1. Report of the Committee of Ten quoted by Harold D. Rugg, "A Century of Curriculum-Construction in American Schools," Sec. 1, Part 1, *The Twenty-Sixth Yearbook of*

30. Principal's Report, 1907-1908, 3.

31. *The Hermonite*, July 15, 1916, 257. "Administration at Mount Hermon."

32. Principal's Report, 1903-1904, 1.

33. *Ibid.*

34. Principal's Report, 1904-1905, 5.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Principal's Report, June 12, 1893. The four societies were the Philolethian (not to be confused with the later Philomathean), the Irving for the four high school classes, and the Achean and Trojan for the Preparatory department.

37. *Catalogue of Mount Hermon School, 1913-1914*, 54, 57. The seven societies at this time were with the dates of their founding: The Good Government Club, 1894, The Philomathean Literary Society, 1897, The Pierian Literary Society, 1898, The Hayward Agricultural Society, 1906, The Aevian Society, 1911, The Dickerson Scientific Club, 1912, The Cosmopolitan Club, 1913.

38. *Mount Hermon Alumni News*, XLVIII, March 1948, 5.

39. Teachers' Meetings, February 10, 1892; November 2, 1894; January 18, 1895.

40. Principal's Report, 1898-1899, 3.

41. Cf. Principal's Report, 1906-1907, 11.

42. Letter from HFC, Mount Hermon, Mass., to Harriet Ford Cutler, March 20, 1896. Belongs to Mrs. H. F. Cutler.

43. Principal's Report, 1915-1916, 6.

44. Principal's Report, 1911-1912, 11.

45. The difficulties of administering the school under such a financial system are patent in the following report by HFC. It is to be remembered that this was not a new situation, except perhaps in its intensity, and that this condition did not cease to exist at the end of the year.

"That the year has been a very important one we all acknowledge. The school year was begun last Autumn with many misgivings on the part of some very intimately connected with the work of the school. The previous year had shown a financial deficit accumulated during past years and increased during that year, making a burden heavy to be borne.

"We had not progressed far in this term's work when the school came face to face with the payment of bills for which there were no funds." Principal's Report, 1904-05, 1.

CHAPTER VIII

1. Frances Anne Kemble, "Absence," from *Poems* (Boston, 1859), 229-231. This poem was copied by Harriet Ford on June 7, 1887.

2. Douglas Malcolm, "Mrs. Harriet Ford Cutler and Henry F. Cutler."

3. MS essay by H. H. Cutler. The bulk of the material on this section comes from interviews with Cutler's daughters, Mrs. William F. Bailey, Mrs. Walter E. Seibert, Mrs. George W. Heiser, and his second son, Mr. Henry H. Cutler.

4. Malcolm, *op. cit.*, 6.

5. Letter from HFC, Mount Hermon, Mass., to Conrad F. Cutler, September 21, 1911.

6. Letter from HFC, Mount Hermon, Mass., to Christine Cutler, November 5, 1912.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Letter from HFC, Mount Hermon, Mass., to Harriet Cutler, May 5, 1917.

9. *Harriet Ford Cutler, A Memorial*, *op. cit.*, 147.

10. Letter from HFC, Mount Hermon, Mass., to Mrs. G. Bradford, May 25, 1903.

11. Letter from HFC, Mount Hermon, Mass., to Mrs. M. L. Ford, June 19, 1903.

12. Letter from HFC, Mount Hermon, Mass., to Mrs. M. L. Ford, June 21, 1903. Letters to Mrs. M. L. Ford, June 18, 19, 1903, *op. cit.*

13. Letter to Mrs. M. L. Ford, June 18, 1903, *op. cit.*

14. Letter from HFC, written at sea, to Mrs. G. Bradford, July 23, 1903.

15. Letter from HFC, London, to Mrs. Bradford, August 7, 1903.

16. Letter from HFC, Paris, to Mrs. Bradford, August 16, 1907.

17. Letter from HFC, Paris, to Mrs. Bradford, September 8, 1903.

18. Letter from HFC, Paris, to Mrs. Bradford, August 31, 1903.

19. Letter from HFC, Paris, to Mrs. Bradford, September 8, 1903.

20. Letter from HFC, Paris, to Mrs. Bradford, September 16, 1903.

21. Letters to Mrs. Bradford, August 7, 16, 1903, *op. cit.*

22. Letter to Mrs. Bradford, August 7, 1903, *op. cit.*

23. Letters to Mrs. Bradford, September 8 and 16, 1903, *op. cit.*
24. Letter from HFC, Mount Hermon, Mass., to Mrs. Bradford, October 21, 1903.
25. The MS essay by Cutler, in addition to six book tickets completely filled out and a half-filled notebook, comprise the material on which this section of the chapter is based.
26. MS essay by HFC, "The Romans in Gaul," 7, 8.
27. Letter from HFC, Mount Hermon, Mass., to Mrs. Bradford, December 28, 1910.
28. Letter from HFC, Mount Hermon, Mass., to Mrs. Bradford, December 9, 1903.
29. Letter to Mrs. Bradford, August 31, 1903, *op. cit.*
30. *The Hermonite*, November, 1907, 45.
31. Most of the chronological data for the preceding paragraphs comes from the school diary kept by Miss Mary Miller.
32. Letter from HFC, Mount Hermon, Mass., to Mrs. Bailey, February 2, 1929.
33. Letter from C. F. Cutler, Cleveland, to the author, March 8, 1947.
34. Letter from HFC, Mount Hermon, Mass., to Perrin C. Galpin, September 26, 1930.
35. Henceforth to be designated as the CRB.
36. Letter from J. F. Lucey, New York, to HFC, May 19, 1916.
37. Letter from HFC, Mount Hermon, Mass., to A. S. Pease, April 20, 1931.
38. Miller Diary for 1916 and interview with Carroll Rikert.
39. Miller Diary for 1916.
40. Diary, July 22, 1916.
41. Diary, July 23, 1916.
42. Letter from Perrin C. Galpin, New York City, to A. C. Merriam, February 18, 1924.
43. Lewis Richards, "Some Things an American Representative Should Know." This was a twenty-five page mimeographed pamphlet.
44. *Ibid.*, 21.
45. George I. Gay, *Commission for Relief in Belgium, Statistical Review of Relief Operations* (Stanford University Press, 1925), V. This foreword was written by Herbert C. Hoover.
46. Richards, *op. cit.*, 9.
47. *Ibid.*, 25.
48. Diary, September 24, 1916; letter from HFC, Brussels, to Mrs. Bradford, November 13, 1916.
49. Diary, November, 1916.
50. *Ibid.*
51. Speech of HFC at the dinner of the New York Hermon Club, February 8, 1917.
52. Letter from Herbert Hoover, New York City, to Mrs. H. F. Cutler, February 3, 1949.
53. *Hermonite*, February 3, 1917, 96.
54. HFC speech, February 8, 1917, *op. cit.*
55. Letter from HFC, Mount Hermon, Mass., to his twin daughters, Harriet and Helen, April 15, 1917.
56. Letter from HFC, Mount Hermon, Mass., to Conrad F. Cutler, undated.
57. Records of the Town of Gill, III, 522, 532, 534, 550, 578, 588, 601, 613, 624, 626, 635, 648, 652, 688; IV, 10, 15, 32, 53.
58. Citation of Amherst L.H.D. awarded HFC.
59. Letter from Edwin Fairley, New York, to HFC, June 23, 1931.
60. Letter from HFC, Mount Hermon, Mass., to Christine C. Bailey, December 30, 1927.
61. Letter from HFC, Canton, Ohio, to Mrs. Cutler, March 12, 1929.

CHAPTER IX

1. Speech by HFC before the New York Mount Hermon Club, February, 1932, 14.
2. Rankin, *Handbook*, *op. cit.*, 132.
3. Bradby, *op. cit.*, 58, 59.
4. *Mount Hermon School Rules*, n.d.
5. Report of the Principal, 1904-1905, 6.
6. *Ibid.*, 6.
7. Report of the Principal, 1908-1909, 4.
8. Record of the Meetings of the Teachers of Mount Hermon, 1890-1924, January 30, 1891.
9. James I. Wendell, "In Memoriam, Henry Franklin Cutler," delivered before Headmasters' Association, February 14, 1946.
10. Letter from the Rev. Dr. Boynton Merrill, undated. (Probably October, 1945)
11. Letter from the Rev. Samuel Higginbottom, undated. (Probably October, 1945)
12. Merrill letter, *op. cit.*
13. Letter from Chas. F. Wheat, Jr., Scipio Center, N.Y., to the author, March 31, 1948.

14. Interview with Carroll Rikert, April, 1947.
15. *Mount Hermon Alumni Quarterly*, XIV, 1, September, 1915, 9.
16. Wendell, *op. cit.*
17. Essay on HFC by Douglas Malcolm.
18. Malcolm, *op. cit.*
19. Letter of Frederick J. Schneider for the class of 1924, Philadelphia, to HFC, May 23, 1932.
20. *Mount Hermon Alumni Quarterly*, XXII, 3, March, 1924, 68.
21. Letter from HFC, Mount Hermon, to E. A. Thompson, September 30, 1930.
22. Malcolm, *op. cit.*
23. Material given to Mrs. H. F. Cutler in conversation with an alumnus.
24. Letter from Merrill C. Munyon, Duke University, to HFC, May 19, 1932.
25. Letter from E. L. Saxton to Dr. and Mrs. H. F. Cutler, undated. Probably written in May, 1932.
26. Higginbottom letter, *op. cit.*
27. Material for the preceding two paragraphs came from a conference with Mr. Horace H. Morse, a member of the Mount Hermon faculty since 1906 and for many years a member of the Discipline Committee.
28. The Rev. Albert C. Fulton, "A Tribute to Dr. Cutler," September 25, 1946. This belongs to the Mount Hermon School.
29. Letter from E. W. Barnes, New York City, to the author, March 22, 1948.
30. Interview notes of Mrs. H. F. Cutler with Mr. Fred Dale.
31. Letter from Leonard Ellinwood, Washington, D.C., to the author December 18, 1946.
32. Malcolm, *op. cit.*
33. Letter from John K. Wolcott, Jamaica, Vt., to the author, Jan. 14, 1947.
34. Essay on HFC by G. Glenn Atkins.
35. Wolcott letter, *op. cit.*
36. Mrs. H. F. Cutler's notes.
37. Wendell, *op. cit.*
38. Letter from V. A. Molitor, Bakersfield, California, to the author, February 19, 1947.
39. Malcolm, *op. cit.*
40. Duncan essay, *op. cit.*
41. Principal's Report, 1912-1913, 7.
42. Postcard from the Rev. L. P. White, Mount Hermon, Mass., to the author, Jan. 15, 1948. This sentiment was expressed to Mr.

White by a former Hermonite at an alumni dinner. "

43. Wendell, *op. cit.*
44. Letter from R. L. Shepherd and others, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., to E. A. Yarrow, May 31, 1932.
45. Merrill letter, *op. cit.*
46. Speech by HFC to the New York Mount Hermon Club, February 16, 1926.
47. Speech by HFC to the New York Mount Hermon Club, November 19, 1906.
48. *Mount Hermon Alumni Quarterly*, XV, 1, September, 1916, 19.
49. Letter of Frank L. Duley from the class of 1893, Lanesville, Mass., to Mr. and Mrs. H. F. Cutler, May 13, 1932.
50. Letter from Harold R. Edward, secretary of the class of 1904, written in 1932.
51. *Mount Hermon Alumni Quarterly*, X, 1, September, 1911, 20.
52. Interview with Mr. F. S. Beveridge, July 11, 1947.
53. Interview with Miss Elizabeth Bigelow, July 9, 1947.
54. Material chiefly from interviews with Mr. Horace H. Morse.
55. George S. Hurst, essay on HFC.
56. *Mount Hermon Alumni Quarterly*, XXVIII, 4, June, 1930, 101.

CHAPTER X

1. Principal's Report, 1916-1917, 1.
2. Principal's Report, 1917-1918, 2.
3. Principal's Report, 1919-1920, 1.
4. Principal's Report, 1922-1923.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Mount Hermon Alumni Quarterly*, XXII, 2, December, 1924, 37.
7. Principal's Report, 1925-1926, 5.
8. *Mount Hermon Alumni Quarterly*, XXVI, 3, March, 1928, 54.
9. Principal's Report, 1921-1922, 2.
10. Principal's Report, 1927-1928.
11. Principal's Report, 1927-1928, 9.
12. Notes on meetings of the faculty executive committee, March 16, 1921.
13. Report of the Survey of the Northfield Schools, East Northfield, Mass., School Year 1926-1927 made by The Institute of Educational Research, Division of Field Studies, Teachers' College, Columbia University. This

survey will be referred to from now on in the footnotes as the Columbia Survey.

The copy I used, which belongs to the Mount Hermon School, was the copy used by HFC and has notes and comments made by him written in longhand.

14. Columbia Survey, 32; 33.
15. Columbia Survey, 37; 74; 41; 13; 11.
16. Columbia Survey, 104.
17. Columbia Survey, 30.
18. Principal's Report, 1929-1930, 1.

19. *Mount Hermon Alumni Quarterly*, XIV, 1, September, 1915, 9. ". . . he has held teachers by providing them with homes and encouraging much freedom of initiative and action."

20. Letter from HFC, Mount Hermon, Mass., to R. R. Hatch, July 25, 1928.

21. Interview with Horace H. Morse, June 18, 1947; interview with Mrs. Gordon Pyper, April 15, 1947.

22. Interview with Louis E. Smith, April 18, 1947.

23. It is eminently clear that Moody's actions in February, 1929 were most unexpected and discouraging to the whole Board of Trustees. On February 26, 1929 the Trustees made a statement of the situation for their records and for inquiring friends. It is as follows:

"In a time of crisis, resulting from the health break-down of a beloved leader, the Board, in discharge of its trust, acted upon eminent medical and other counsel.

"In every essential step during these years the Trustees have been a unit, with no voice in opposition until later raised by the Chairman. His lack of sympathy toward the newer executive order has brought sorrow to all but the Trustees remain firm in belief that no other course was open."

24. *The Hermonite*, XXIX, 17, 18, July 15, 1916, 256.

25. Pamphlet, *The Year Around at Mount Hermon* (Mount Hermon, Mass., n.d.), 7.

26. Principal's Report, 1922-1923.

27. *Ibid.*; Speech by HFC to N. Y. Mount Hermon Club, February, 1932; *Mount Hermon Alumni Quarterly*, X, 1, September, 1911, 8.

28. Interview with Frank L. Boyden, for more than forty-five years headmaster of Deerfield Academy, October 29, 1947.

29. *Curriculum Making: Past and Present, The Twenty-Sixth Yearbook* of the National

Society for the Study of Education, Part I (Bloomington, Ill., 1926), xi.

30. Letter from the Trustees of the Northfield Schools, East Northfield, Mass., to HFC June 16, 1932.

31. *Mount Hermon Alumni Quarterly*, XXX, 2, December, 1931, 42.

CHAPTER XI

1. *Amherst Graduates Quarterly*, February, 1946, 165.

2. Letter from HFC, East Northfield, Mass., to Mrs. Cutler, September 24, 1932.

3. Article on HFC by the Rev. A. C. Fulton, September 25, 1946.

4. Letter from HFC, East Northfield, Mass., to Mrs. Cutler, September 26, 1932.

5. Letter from HFC, Westfield, Mass., to Mrs. Cutler, September 30, 1932.

6. Letter from HFC, East Northfield, Mass., to Mrs. Cutler, October 3, 1932.

7. Letter from HFC, East Northfield, Mass., to Mrs. Cutler, October 6, 1932.

8. Letter from HFC, on board HMS *Berengaria*, to Mrs. Christine C. Bailey, October 25, 1932.

9. Letter from HFC, Paris, to Mrs. Christine C. Bailey, December 11, 1932.

10. Letter from HFC, Paris, to Mrs. Helen C. Seibert, December 11, 1932.

11. *New York Herald-Tribune*, European Edition, Paris, April 19, 1934, 1.

12. Letter from HFC, Paris, to Mr. H. H. Cutler, June 12, 1933.

13. Letter from HFC, on board the *Asama Maru*, to Miss Mary Baker, October 3, 1933.

14. Letter from HFC, on board the SS *President Pierce*, to H. H. Cutler, September 21, 1933.

15. Letter from HFC, on board the *Asama Maru*, to Albert Roberts, October 10, 1933.

16. Letter from HFC, on board the *Asama Maru*, to H. H. Cutler, October 16, 1933.

17. HFC letter to H. H. Cutler, October 16, 1933, *op. cit.*

18. Letter from HFC, on board the *Asama Maru*, to H. H. Cutler, December 7, 1933.

19. HFC letter to H. H. Cutler, October 16, 1933, *op. cit.*

20. *Mount Hermon Alumni News*, XLIV, 2, December, 1945, 5.

21. Letter from HFC, Paris, to Mrs. Christine Bailey, July 15, 1934.

22. Letter from HFC, Paris, to Mrs. Christine Bailey, August 5, 1934.
23. Letter from HFC, Vienna, to Mt. Hermon Boys, October 24, 1936.
24. Letter from HFC, Paris, to Mrs. Christine Bailey, February 25, 1935.
25. Letter from HFC, Paris, to H. H. Cutler, March 10, 1935.
26. Letter from HFC, at sea, to H. H. Cutler, July 24, 1935.
27. Letter from HFC, on board the SS *Manhattan* to E. S. S. Sunderland, August 19, 1935.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Letter from HFC, on board the SS *Manhattan*, to Mrs. Christine Bailey, August 18, 1935.
30. Letter from HFC, Paris, to H. H. Cutler, January 28, 1936.
31. Letter from HFC, Paris, to Mrs. Christine C. Bailey, March 30, 1936.
32. Letter from HFC, Vienna, to the Dean of the Medical School of the University of Vienna, February 5, 1937.
33. Letter from Carroll Rikert, Mount Hermon, Mass., to HFC, February 8, 1937.
34. Letter from A. E. Roberts, Mount Hermon, Mass., to HFC, February 16, 1937.
35. Letter from Arthur S. Roundy, Cranston, R. I., to the author, March 23, 1948.
36. MS copy of HFC's, June, 1937, address.
37. Letter from Mrs. Gamaliel Bradford, Wellesley Hills, Mass., to HFC, June 28, 1937.
38. Letter from HFC, East Northfield, Mass., to H. H. Cutler, September 2, 1937.
39. Letter from HFC, Vienna, to H. H. Cutler, October 27, 1937.
40. Letter from HFC, Vienna, to Mrs. Harriet Heiser, December 8, 1937.
41. All material on HFC's trip to Athens comes from a diary that he kept from July 26 to August 13, 1939.
42. Based on an interview with Dr. Frank Roscoe, Scranton, Pa., June 17, 1948.
43. Letter from HFC, East Northfield, Mass., to H. H. Cutler, September 16, 1941.
44. Letter from Dr. A. W. Atwood, Worcester, Mass., to HFC, n.d.
45. Letter from HFC, Martin Hall, to Mrs. H. F. Cutler, n.d.
46. Tribute of the Metropolitan Hermon Clubs to HFC, March 17, 1944.
47. Letter from Dr. Elihu S. Wing, Providence, R. I., to the author, March 23, 1948.
48. Speech by the Rev. G. G. Atkins.

APPENDIX

A

Henry Cutler read the following while
at Glay in 1888:

- January: Vinet, *Chrestomatie*
The Letters of Abélard and
Héloïse
Chateaubriand, *La Bruyère*
— *Le Génie du Christia-*
nisme
Goethe, *Faust*
- February: Pascal, *Les Provinciales*
Goethe, *Hermann und Doro-*
thea
Molière, *Le Misanthrope*,
L'Ecole des Femmes
Merlet, *Critique of Le Misan-*
thrope
Littré, *History of the French*
Language and Literature
- March: Lichtenstein
Molière, *Le Médecin malgré*
lui
— *L'Ecole des Maris*
Corneille, *Le Cid*
— *Polyeucte*
— *Horace*
— *Cinna*
— *Le Menteur*
Racine, *Les Plaideurs*
- April: Boileau, *L'Art Poétique*, pre-
mier chant
Guizot, *L'Histoire de la Civili-*
zation en France
Molière, *Les Femmes Savantes*
Song of Roland
- May: Marie Halt, *L'Histoire d'un*
Petit Homme
Xavier de Maistre, *La Jeune*
Sibérienne

Voyage autour de ma Cham-
bre

- June: Fénelon
Pelletan, *Jarrousseau, le Pas-*
teur du Desert
Voltaire, *Méropé*
Beaumarchais, *La Barbier de*
Seville
Chateaubriand *Atala* "It is a
sad story that makes me
cry."
— *René*
Lamartine, *Graziella*
Vigny, *Moïse, Elia, la Mort du*
Loup, La Femme Adulterre,
La Fille de Jepté and others.
- July: Dominic, on the historians of
the nineteenth century.
Hugo, *Hernani*
Hugo, The Preface to his life
of Cromwell where he de-
tails many of his ideas on art
and literature.
Molière, *Georges Dandin*
- August: Daudet, *Tartarin de Tarascon*
Molière, *L'Amour Médecin*
— *Le Mariage Forcé*
— *Le Bourgeois Gentil-*
homme
— *Sganarelle*
— *L'Impromptu de Ver-*
sailles. Then he says he has
read enough Molière.
Racine, *Britannicus*
Corneille, *Pompée* (" . . . and
now I have read all his ma-
jor works.")

APPENDIX

B

Dr. G. M. Philips concluded his letter with a summary of the inducements that teaching at the West Chester Normal School offered.

Dr. Philips' letter to Cutler, June 1, 1889, cont.

The position is considered a desirable one, we are close by Philadelphia, in an old town, wealthy & cultured. Plenty of Yale, Harvard, Princeton &c. men here, though I don't know an Amherst man here.

The school is one of earnest, hard workers as you might suppose from its being a Normal School. The work in languages is largely elementary, though we usually have some more advanced work in Latin & German, the work is mainly in those two languages. The amount of higher work elected in the

languages really depends upon the teacher. You would room in a boys' hall & have some charge of them, though this would not be onerous, and is much lightened by the fact that another teacher has half of the same floor. You would probably teach $4\frac{1}{2}$ hrs. per day. You would teach in a recitation room & have only your own class present. Your salary will be paid promptly each month. There is a fair library of 4000 books, we shall begin the erection of a large gymnasium this summer. The place is *very* healthy, best of railroad facilities &c. We shall begin school on Monday, Sept. 2, and Saturday or Sunday before will be time enough for you to be here.

I have written hastily, and shall be glad to give any further information.

APPENDIX

C

MOUNT HERMON SPEAKERS

The following is a list of some of the men who spoke at the school during the years of Cutler's principalship:

The Rev. George Adam Smith, D.D.,
Glasgow, Scotland.

The Rev. Samuel Chadwick, Leeds,
England.

The Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr.,
of New York City.

Pres. William J. Tucker, D.D.,
LL.D., of Dartmouth.

Pres. George Washburn, D.D., Rob-
erts College.

Bishop John T. Dallas of New Hamp-
shire.

Dr. Charles Gilkey, Chicago.

Dr. Wilfred T. Grenfell.

Dean Luther Weigle, Yale Univer-
sity.

Dr. J. Edgar Park, Wheaton College.

Dr. Robert E. Speer.

APPENDIX

D

MOUNT HERMON SCHOOL TODAY

BY HORACE H. MORSE

The following article was first printed in the Record of Christian Work, July, 1926. It has been edited by Mr. Morse for this book.

To those of us who have known Mount Hermon School either as students or members of the teaching and working staff, the school has a mysterious way of taking hold of our affections. To ask any of us to tell about Mount Hermon is to secure a most *ex parte* description, even if we try to be scrupulously honest, even if we are keenly aware of many things at Mount Hermon we would gladly improve, for after all we are describing what we love, what has given us opportunity, happy days, strong friendships, or to which we have given the best service we could. It is a rash thing to ask a Mount Hermon teacher or former student to tell about Mount Hermon.

Many factors have entered into the Mount Hermon we know today, but none is more persistent and powerful than this—that Mount Hermon is D. L. Moody's school for boys.

It is good for a boys' school to have had such a founder—a burly big man's man, capable of great muscular effort, of enduring long continued physical and mental strains, of shouldering crushing responsibilities; a man of tender heart and kindly impulses; a man who consciously traced all that he knew and possessed of power and goodness to the infinite God revealed in Jesus Christ. He was a good man to found a boys' school.

Today Mount Hermon is the school

of Mr. Moody's immediate disciples, and how conscientiously they try under changing modern conditions to carry on the school in the spirit of the founder, any one who is associated with them for even a brief time can testify. From time to time adjustments are made, for it would be far indeed from the free, bold, forward-reaching spirit of D. L. Moody to follow the deadening letter. In certain matters, however, Mount Hermon stands exactly where it did when "D.L." was alive. It has a work-hour, it permits no interscholastic athletics, it refuses to retain students who use tobacco in any form, and every student carrying a full schedule, unless there is some peculiar circumstance, must take English Bible at least two periods a week.

Mount Hermon is a preparatory school. It aims to lead its students to desire a college training, and to prepare them for it. That it does not fail in its former aim many a college graduate has gratefully told us who received at Mount Hermon his first notion of what college might do for a man. That it does not fail in the latter, we assume from the experience of one of our graduates who received all his preparation at Mount Hermon and led his college class not only in his senior year, but with the exception of one or two rank lists every time his standing was estimated.

It is misleading, however, to say that Mount Hermon is a preparatory school, and to stop there. Mount Hermon welcomes a little more warmly than any other the mature fellow, twenty, twenty-five, or even older, who for some reason did not continue his edu-

cation when he was a boy. Such a boy Mount Hermon intends to give every chance, for boys of his type are among those out in the world of whom she is today most proud. She does not want the line ever to lapse, for Mr. Moody had these men especially in mind.

Nevertheless not all of them make good. They prove soon with distressing convincingness why they have gone no further in their education: and yet how many of those whom too hastily we call failures, return to their old occupations quickened and broadened and deepened, and exert a definite influence for good on all with whom they come in contact. It has paid Mount Hermon to do its best with such men even if they stay but two or three terms.

In recent years a great many boys from high schools have reached Mount Hermon for various reasons. Many are high school failures, not a few are from high schools that are failures: and Mount Hermon welcomes both groups.

These students of ours are healthy, jolly, active men and boys. Some of them study hard and successfully. Almost all of them sometimes try to study. Some play hard and successfully, and make the school letter in athletics—a genuine distinction earned by practice, clean, hard-won excellence, and good conduct in the school life as a whole. Some show powers of leadership in carrying on their class activities, their literary societies, their religious organizations, or their dormitory associations.

In recent years student government has developed gradually and gratifyingly. In the dormitories the students elect officers who take in hand a large part of the discipline, although each dormitory has its faculty head. There is also a student council of the whole school, consisting of the principal officers elected by the students for their

class and other organizations. These student bodies keep in touch formally with the faculty by student representatives—the president of the senior class and the presidents of each of the dormitory associations—who meet with the faculty executive committee once a month. At these meetings both students and faculty from their respective points of view discuss current school problems with much freedom. It is easy to overemphasize this machinery, for it would never work as well as it does were there not a feeling of friendliness and mutual understanding between the individuals of the faculty and of the student body. A little interview between the principal and the president of the senior class, between any student who has a grievance or believes he has detected an injustice and that member of the faculty in whom he has the most confidence, or a casual conversation which has no particular motive behind it, or a little sympathy shown by a teacher for one of his students who needs a kind word, or a similar act by an upper classman for a younger student—these warm unpretentious human contacts are after all what make the life of Mount Hermon so happy, so steady, and in a large way so uplifting.

The foundation of this is deep, insistent, sincere religious current in the school life. The school authorities require few religious exercises in comparison with many of our American private schools and colleges—two services on each Sunday and four services during the week, one of which is usually given to singing drill, and many of the others after brief religious opening exercises are devoted to athletic association meetings or to the student council. At the Sunday services, however, the students listen to the greatest preachers of the evangelical denominations, from all over the United States

or from Great Britain. The Northfield conferences in the summer send many of their speakers to Mount Hermon. At the services during the week, also, there is considerable variety in the speakers, but most often the boys listen to a few sincere words from the principal, who is dwelling with them every day and whose life is his best commentary on the religion he professes.

The boys, too, may become members of the Mount Hermon Church, the undenominational school church which all employees of the school as well as students may join. The students elect student deacons to represent them in the direction of the church.

Besides the church and the chapel services, the boys carry on their own student religious meetings, of which those held Sunday evenings in the dormitories are the best attended. These are entirely voluntary, and they vary considerably from time to time in attendance and in interest, but they maintain upon the whole the boys' own stage of religious development and aspiration unaffectedly and strongly. They seldom lack leaders of much dignity and balance, whom the boys respect from the strength and the consistency of their lives. If you visit one of these meetings you cannot but be impressed with the enthusiasm of the singing and the sincerity of the atmosphere.

The great Student Volunteer movement began in the old chapel of the school in Recitation Hall, and the school still has a Student Volunteer Band. Mount Hermon missionaries are scattered all over the world, but none is so far away but that at Christmas he receives from Mount Hermon Church a Northfield Calendar and a gift of money for his personal use.

Certain students have always been allowed to visit districts about the

school and carry on simple religious services. A few have supplied pulpits in the nearby towns. Small and congenial groups frequently meet in each other's rooms for prayers. The tone of the religious life of the school keeps simple and sincere, for the boys do not need much observation to detect, and with boy directness to hit at, a pose.

Choral singing has always received much attention in the Northfield Schools. The great concerts in which both Mount Hermon and the Northfield Seminary take part are musical events for the surrounding country. Automobiles hurry to the Auditorium from a radius of thirty miles or more, so that our reasonable Northfield traffic assumes for the day all too much the aspect of more congested centers. It is worth a long ride to hear a thousand fresh voices roll out the great hymns of the Christian Church.

Mr. D. L. Moody believed in both the dignity and the discipline of manual labor. The land which now forms the campus and outlying properties of Mount Hermon School has been pieced together from old farms. It was quite natural, then, that the work-hour should take the form of labor on the farm. From this has come the development of the famous Mount Hermon Holstein herd, one of the best herds of the breed in the United States. With the growth of the school plant, however, the forms of work have become greatly diversified, for engineers, electricians, office workers, carpenters, chauffeurs, and many others have been needed. As far as possible these workers are recruited from the students in school, or from those who have to work almost full time to secure further money to reënter the school as students.

This article has only hinted at many important phases of the life at Mount Hermon, many it has not mentioned at

all, but perhaps it has said enough to suggest how precious is the heritage of the school in its founder and in its history, and how varied, alert, energetic, earnest, and happy is its present life. At the close of forty-five years

Mount Hermon looks back upon solid achievement, is conscious of its individuality, and is striving to do its part well in the immense and supremely significant organism we call American education.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

I. MANUSCRIPTS

The largest and most valuable collection of material for this biography consists of papers in the possession of the Cutler family. At present most of these are with Mrs. Henry F. Cutler, East Northfield, Mass. They comprise old family papers and letters dating back to 1741; letters from Cutler to his family and friends from 1880 up to the time of his death; diaries for the years 1883-1889, July 22, 1916-January 1917, and for short periods in the years 1932-1941; college course notebook; undergraduate history paper on Henry II of England; M.A. thesis; articles on France and Germany; his Bible, which is carefully marked and annotated; numerous notebooks containing remarks on religion and texts for sermons; account books from 1890 to the time of his death; letters to Cutler throughout his life; a large collection of miscellaneous scraps of paper on which he jotted down things he wanted to remember and plans he was formulating; his academic degrees and certificates; a book of anecdotes about the Cutler children recorded by Harriet Louise Ford Cutler; a volume of letters from "old" boys, friends, and faculty collected and bound and presented to Cutler upon his retirement from the principalship in 1932; and poems and speeches.

The Mount Hermon School files contain little of Cutler's correspondence and few papers. It is the opinion of those closely associated with the administration that they were destroyed during a general cleanup about ten years ago. The bulk of the letters that remain are retained in the 13,000 jacket files kept on each student instead of attempting to go through them

all, I took samples from each of the four decades that Cutler was principal, and in addition, with the help of the older faculty members, chose the folders of boys in which might be found the most interesting and illustrative material; for example, students with the best or poorest records, those who had been disciplined and the ones who had been dismissed, also boys in financial straits. Even this correspondence is slim, first, because in the early years copies of letters were not made, and, second, because many of the students had no parents or guardians and Cutler handled much of the business right at the school.

I have received many helpful letters from alumni who had been informed of my undertaking through notices in the Alumni News.

A detailed record of the principal sources follows:

Amherst College, Records of the Registrar's Office, 1884-1890. 1 v. In the Registrar's Office, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.

Amherst College, Statistics of the Students Entering College 1882-1883. In the Registrar's Office.

Book of Record for District No. 7, Guilford, Vt. 1 v. In the safe of the town clerk of Guilford, Vt.

Cutler, Dr. Robert, *Memoirs of the Cutler Family, 1720-1853*, in longhand. In the possession of Mrs. George Cutler, Amherst, Mass.

A church book belonging to the Church of Christ in Epping, 1747-1761. Mostly in the handwriting of the Reverend Robert Cutler, with additions made at the foot of the pages by his children. In the possession of Mrs. George Cutler, Amherst, Mass.

Greenwich, Record of Town Meetings,

- 1782-1895. 4 v. At the headquarters of the Quabbin Reservoir, Belcher-town, Mass.
- Hampshire County Records, books 160, 367, 547, 562, 653. Office of the Registrar of Deeds, Northampton, Mass. The list of Cutler land sales and purchases was used to get a more exact picture of the Home farm.
- Harvard University, Schools' Examination Board Report, Mount Hermon School, 1894. In the Archives of Harvard University, Widener Library, Cambridge, Mass. In the Mount Hermon folder are the reports of all the examiners as well as a copy of the joint report. Indispensable to any understanding of Mount Hermon in the 1890's.
- Hills, Charles E., Jr., *The Cutler Family*. Carbon copy of paper written for an undergraduate history course at Amherst College in 1938. It is in the Jones Library, Amherst, Mass., and is based mainly upon the papers mentioned above in the possession of Mrs. George Cutler.
- Miller, Miss Mary J., and others, a diary of important events at Mount Hermon. 29 v. It was started on January 1, 1903 and continued through the years of Cutler's principalship. It was most helpful in keeping the events of these twenty-nine years chronologically straight.
- Minutes of the Faculty Executive Committee, Mount Hermon School, spring of 1909 to May 18, 1932. Two small loose leaf notebooks. In the safe of the Mount Hermon School, Mount Hermon, Mass. Many of the policies for the running of the school were decided upon in the meetings of the Faculty Executive Committee, of which Cutler was always a member. It is practically impossible to tell from these notes what part Cutler played and where he stood on the issues under discussion. As information of what was going on during these years they are valuable.
- Probate Records of Hampshire County, box 377, Estate of Daniel S. Cutler. Office of Probate Records, Northampton, Mass.
- Record of the Meeting of the Teachers of Mount Hermon, May 26, 1886 to May 27, 1932. 4 v. In the safe of the Mount Hermon School, Mount Hermon, Mass. Again the exact place and influence of Cutler is not clearly defined, but no study of the school or of Cutler could be made without carefully reading them.
- Records of the Town of Gill, March 1890 -to March 1932. 2 v. In the safe of the town clerk of Gill, Mass.
- Report of the Survey of the Northfield Schools, School Year 1926-1927, Made by the Institute of Educational Research Division of Field Studies, Teachers College, Columbia University, George D. Strayer, Director. The copy I used had notes on the inside of the cover made in Cutler's handwriting. It is now in the possession of the Mount Hermon School, Mount Hermon, Mass. This report is much less valuable than the one made by Harvard University in 1893-1894. Most of the inspectors were not masters of any field and they had had no teaching experience, being for the most part graduate students. It almost seems that they had left Mount Hermon with little conception of what the school was like and what it was trying to do. For example they criticized the curriculum because there was no vocational training, when a large percentage of the pupils already had trades and had come to Mount Hermon not to learn a trade, but to study academic subjects.
- Waldo, Dorothy, *The Development of*

Women's Education in Massachusetts. Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, November, 1937. Harvard University Archives, Widener Library, Cambridge, Mass.

West Chester State Normal School, Scrapbook. In the Library of West Chester State Teachers College, West Chester, Pa. Clippings and papers on the life of the school in the year 1889-1890.

A portion of Cutler's library was given to Mount Hermon School after his death, along with a collection of play and opera handbills that he collected in Berlin in 1889. I inspected these and chose three volumes which were extremely valuable in gaining an understanding of Cutler's educational ideas. They were underlined by him, in some instances two and three times. These underlinings so closely agree with his beliefs stated elsewhere that they must be considered a reliable source of material. They are as follows:

Balfour, Graham, *The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland*. Oxford, 1898.

Bradby, H. C., *Rugby*. London, 1900.

Stanley, Arthur P., *Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D.* London, n.d.

Two volumes on genealogy, belonging to Cutler, were marked by him when he studied the ancestry of his family:

Cary, S. F., *Cary Memorials*. Cincinnati, 1874.

Cutler, Nahum S., *A Cutler Memorial and Genealogical History*. Greenfield, Mass., 1889.

Articles on Cutler, written by the following men, have been sent to Mrs. Henry F. Cutler for use in writing this biography: the Reverend G. Glenn Atkins, Mr. William Y. Duncan, the Reverend Albert C. Fulton and Mr. Malcom Douglas.

II. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

The Amherst Graduates Quarterly (Amherst, Mass.), XXXV, February 1946.

The Amherst Record (Amherst, Mass.), September 1882 to July 1886. A weekly. This paper gives a picture of what was going on in the town of Amherst while Cutler was in college. It occasionally carried articles on neighboring towns and local families of prominence.

The Amherst Student (Amherst, Mass.), 1882-1886. The college newspaper.

The Aryan Review (West Chester, Pa.), X, May 24, 1890. Magazine of the West Chester State Normal School.

The Athol Transcript (Athol, Mass.), 1875-1886. A weekly. There generally was a column of notes on Greenwich.

The C. R. B. Bulletin (N.Y.), August 31, 1925, October 22, 1930, nos. 12 and 13. Carried news of former members and of the peacetime activities of the C. R. B.

The Greenfield Courier and Gazette (Greenfield, Mass.), September, 1886; June, 1887; June and July 1890; September, 1890. A weekly. I chose these months as being ones that might have news of Cutler. June and July of 1890 I thought might have contained a statement of Cutler's appointment to the principalship of Mount Hermon. September 1890 was chosen to see what was said about the opening of Mount Hermon under new leadership. I also leafed through other issues for the next ten years.

The Greenfield Daily Recorder (Greenfield, Mass.), June, 1932. For mention of Cutler's retirement.

The Hermonite (Mount Hermon, Mass.), II-XLV, September, 1888, through June, 1932. This, the school paper, is a valuable source of material on the school and Cutler. At regular inter-

vals there are articles by students on him.

Mount Hermon Alumni Quarterly (later named *Mount Hermon Alumni News*), (Mount Hermon, Mass.), I-XLVII, December, 1902 to present. Also useful to anyone studying the school and Cutler. Especially so are the articles in almost every issue for the first thirty years on life at the school by Stephen Stark, longtime teacher of Greek and Latin. Beginning in 1923 a page was set aside for Cutler's quarterly letters to the alumni.

New Salem Academy, Reunion Banner (Athol, Mass.), NS LIX, 1946. George A. Brown of New Salem, Mass., editor of the *Reunion Banner*, allowed me to look over his collection of the *RB*'s which is almost complete, going back more than fifty years.

The Olio (Amherst, Mass.), 1883-1888. This is the Amherst College year-book.

The Orange Enterprise (Orange, Mass.), March, 1885, through March, 1886. This paper gives a fairly complete report of the Greenwich town meetings of these two years.

The Record of Christian Work (East Northfield, Mass.), I-II, 1881-July, 1933.

The Springfield Daily Republican (Springfield, Mass.)

The Springfield Weekly Republican (Springfield, Mass.). Daniel S. Cutler took these papers and Cutler was their representative at Mount Hermon in 1886-1887. While in Europe he received issues of the *Republican* and also sent in articles, two of which were published. I looked at the *Republican* for the years from 1875 to 1886, as well as May and June of 1862, June of 1887, November and December, 1888.

The Vermont Phoenix, and Record and Farmer (Brattleboro, Vt.), November-December, 1880, February-March, 1881, February-March, 1882. I examined these editions to try to find any mention of Cutler while he was at Guilford, Vt. I had hoped that those of 1882 might give some clue as to whether he taught in Guilford that year. There was no mention of him in the Guilford notices for May and June of 1881 and 1882.

III. PRINTED WORKS

Adams, Charles F., Jr., *A College Fetich*. 1883. Boston, 1883.

[Amherst], Amherst College, *Catalogue, 1903-1904*. Amherst, Mass., n.d. Officers and Students of Amherst College, *Catalogue, 1881-1887*. 6 v. Amherst, Mass., 1881-1887.

Blodgett, E. P., *Sermon, Delivered on the Fortieth Anniversary of His Settlement as Pastor of the Congregational Church of Greenwich, Mass., July 5, 1883*. Boston, 1883.

Chamberlain, D. H., *Not "A College Fetich"*. Boston, 1884.

Cutler, Henry F., "D. L. Moody, Educator," *Northfield Schools Bulletin*, IX, 6, September 1921.

Exercises at the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Rev. E. P. Blodgett as Pastor of the Congregational Church, Greenwich, Mass., July 5, 1893. Boston, 1893. Cutler came from Mount Hermon to give an introductory address.

[Greenwich], School Committee of the Town of Greenwich, *Annual Report for 1866-71*. 5 v. Ware, Mass., 1867-71.

— *Annual Report for 1871-2*. Boston, 1872.

— *Annual Report for 1872-4*. 2 v. Ware, Mass., 1873-74.

— *Annual Report for 1876-7*. Belcher-town, Mass., 1877.

- *Annual Report for 1877-8*. n.d.
- *Annual Report for 1878-9*. Ware, Mass., 1879.
- The reports for 1874-1876 were not available in Widener Library and I did not pursue them further because the reports I have read gave me enough information about the Cutler District School and its educational ideas and methods as well as curriculum. They are thrilling evidence that the Greenwich schools of these years had the support of educationally sound and informed men.
- Town of Greenwich, *Annual Report for 1885-6*. Athol, Mass., 1886.
- [Guilford], School Superintendent of the Town of Guilford, *Annual Report, also, Annual Report of the Financial Condition for 1860-61*. Brattleboro, Vt., 1861. The only report in the possession of the town clerk of Guilford that gave a description of the school in which Cutler taught.
- Harriet Louise Ford Cutler, *Teacher, Wife, Mother, Friend*. East Northfield, Mass., n.d. This is a most valuable small book, actually a collection of memorials from old friends, associates, and students. A number of Cutler's letters are used as well as those of Harriet Ford to him. It gives a picture of what kind of a person Harriet Ford was and also the reader receives a description of Mount Hermon and the Northfield Seminary in its early days.
- [Harvard], The President and Treasurer of Harvard College, *Annual Reports, 1891-1898*. 7 v. Cambridge, Mass., 1892-1898.
- Harvard University, *Quinquennial Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates, 1636-1930*. Cambridge, Mass., 1930. Used for the list it contains of the Class of 1741 of which the Reverend Robert Cutler was a member.
- International Congress of Education of the World's Columbian Exposition, *Proceedings*, Chicago, July 25-28, 1893. N.Y., 1894.
- Kemp, Harry, *Tramping on Life; an Autobiographical Narrative*. N.Y., 1922. The author went to Mount Hermon and in this book he calls it Mount Hebron and Cutler is called Stanton. It contains two descriptions of Stanton (Cutler) dealing with Kemp.
- [Massachusetts], Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *The Acts and Laws, 1794-1795 and 1796-1797*. 2 v. Boston, 1896.
- Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 3d ser., II. Cambridge Mass., 1830. Section on the New Hampshire period of Robert Cutler's life.
- Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War, XIV. Boston, 1906. Sections on the Sibleys.
- Provinces of Massachusetts Bay, *The Acts and Resolves, Public and Private: to which Are Prefixed the Charters of the Province*, XVII. Boston, 1910.
- McDowell, John and others, *What D. L. Moody Means to Me*. East Northfield, Mass., 1937. A collection of short papers on Moody.
- D. L. Moody's Monument. East Northfield, Mass., 1901.
- Moody, Dwight Lyman, *Moody's Latest Sermons (The Colportage Library)*. Chicago, 1900.
- *Pleasure and Profit in Bible Study (The Colportage Library)*. Chicago, 1895.
- *Sowing and Reaping (The Colportage Library)*. Chicago, 1896.
- *The Way to God (The Colportage Library)*. Chicago, 1912.
- *Weighed and Wanting or Tested by the Ten Commandments (The Colportage Library)*. Chicago, 1898. I was given these by the hostess at Moody's birthplace in East North-

field, Mass. She had been intimately associated with the Mount Hermon School for a number of years and felt that these sermons best expressed his religious thought.

Moody, William R., *Should Tuition Fees Be Increased in the Northfield Schools?* East Northfield, Mass., 1910. This is a pamphlet which describes the financial difficulty that the schools faced in trying to continue operation at a charge of \$50.00 a term. The meaning of an increase is explained—that it would affect the character of the student body, keeping away many boys that could not afford the raise.

[Mount Hermon], *Mount Hermon School, Catalogue, 1886*. Boston, 1886.

— *Catalogue, 1888-1889*. Mount Hermon, Mass., 1889.

— *Catalogue, 1890-1891*. Boston, 1891.

— *Catalogue, 1891-1896*. 5 v. Mount Hermon, Mass., 1892-95.

— *Catalogue, 1896-1897*. Brattleboro, Vt., 1896.

— *Catalogue, 1898-1901*. 3 v. Brattleboro, Vt., 1898-00.

— *Catalogue, 1902*. Brattleboro, Vt., 1902.

— *Catalogue, 1903*. Brattleboro, Vt., 1903.

— *Catalogue, 1904-1905*. Brattleboro, Vt., 1904.

— *Catalogue, 1905-1917*. 12 v. Brattleboro, Vt., 1906-17.

— *Catalogue, 1918-1919*. Mount Hermon, Mass., 1919.

— *Catalogue, 1920-1921*. Mount Hermon, Mass., 1920.

— *Catalogue, 1921-1922*. Mount Hermon, Mass., 1922.

— *Catalogue, 1923-1924*. Mount Hermon, Mass., 1923.

— *Catalogue, 1924-1932*. 8 v. Mount Hermon, Mass., 1925-32.

No catalogues were printed during

the years omitted from the above list. These proved to be invaluable in studying the growth of Mount Hermon over the years. It is the best record of the staff and curriculum.

The Development of the Northfield Schools. East Northfield, Mass., 1927. *Northfield, Mount Hermon, and Chicago, Being an Account of Four Bible Schools*. N. Y., 1892.

Rankin, Henry W., *Hand-Book of the Northfield Seminary and the Mount Hermon School*. N. Y., 1889. This is an excellent report on the two schools, their founding and their purpose. It also contains a useful appendix.

Stark, Stephen, *Fifty Years of Mount Hermon, an Impression and an Interpretation*. Brattleboro, Vt., 1931. More a calendar of events than a history of the school. Not particularly valuable for a biographer of Cutler. It does give the views of one of the school's best teachers.

The Student's Hand-Book. Mount Hermon, Mass., 1894. Presented by the school's YMCA to each student. It is an interesting picture of the school as seen from the student's eyes. It is especially useful in studying the school's extra-curricular activities.

National Educational Association, *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses, 1890*. Topeka, Kans., 1890.

— 1891. N. Y., 1891.

— 1892. N. Y., 1893.

— 1894-1895. 2 v. St. Paul, Minn., 1895.

— 1896-1897. 2 v. Chicago, 1896-1897.

— 1898. 1898.

— 1899-1902. 4 v. Chicago, 1899-1902.

— 1903-1905. 3 v. Winona, Minn., 1903-1905.

National Educational Association, *Fiftieth Anniversary Volume 1857-1906*. Winona, Minn., 1907.

National Education Association, *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses, 1907-*

1911. 5 v. Winona, Minn., 1907-1911.
 — 1912-1915. 4 v. Ann Arbor, Mich., 1912-1915.
- National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings*, 1916. Ann Arbor, Mich., 1916.
- 1917-1925. 9 v. Washington, D.C., 1917-1925.
- National Education Association, *Proceedings*, 1926-1932. Washington, D.C., n.d. The year 1893 is mentioned elsewhere. Cutler was a regular attendant at the meetings of the NEA. I have used the sections on school superintendence and secondary education in trying to get an idea of the changes in educational ideas. I have studied Mount Hermon's curriculum with an eye to comparing it with ideas expressed in these proceedings.
- New Hampshire Historical Society, *Collections*, IV. Concord, N.H., 1834. For Robert Cutler's New Hampshire parishes.
- [New Salem], New Salem Academy, *Catalogue of the Trustees, Instructors and Students*. Greenfield, Mass., 1848.
- Greenfield, Mass., 1851.
- *Catalogue of the Officers and Students*. Athol Depot, Mass., 1858.
- *Catalogue of the Trustees, Instructors and Students*. Athol Depot, Mass., 1874.
- New Salem Academy, 1877. A pamphlet that was printed just prior to the opening of NSA the term that Cutler matriculated. It also contains an announcement of the appointment of W. H. Smiley.
- I visited New Salem, looked over the Academy building in which Cutler studied and the house in which he boarded. I was introduced to Mr. George Brown, a resident of the town, who has in his possession practically every *Reunion Banner* as well as the most complete collection of old Academy catalogues. The ones mentioned above were the most helpful. Mr. Brown was able to answer many of my questions about school life. He knew Cutler.
- Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., *Catalogue*, June 1890-1899. 10 v. Andover, Mass., 1890-99.
- Phillips Exeter Academy, *Catalogue*, 1890-91. Boston, 1890.
- 1891-93. 2 v. Boston, 1892-93.
- 1893-99. 6 v. Exeter, N.H., 1894-99.
- Although both these schools (Exeter and Andover) suffered their ups and downs during these years they were considered to be the leading preparatory schools. I have used these catalogues in comparing their curriculums and personnel with those of Mount Hermon of the same period.
- [Powers Institute], Powers Institute at Bernardston, Mass., *Catalogue*. Burlington, Vt., 1869.
- Powers Institute*, L. Mcl. Jackson, A.M., *Principal*, 1882-1883.
- I traveled to Bernardston and talked with those people who should know where the school catalogues and papers were stored. Evidently only a few that belonged to the school escaped becoming mildewed and they were given to the town library. Those mentioned above were the only papers that I found of use.
- General Catalogue and History of Powers Institute, Its Teachers and Pupils 1857-1896*.
- This volume was put together from memory and from what remained of the old mildewed school catalogues. It can only be trusted to give a general idea of when a student or teacher was at the school. For example Cutler is listed as being a member of a group that attended the school over a two year period. I wrote to two of the men whose names are in this list and neither had any memory of a

- Henry F. Cutler being in the school while they attended.
- Town of Prescott, *Official Reports for the Financial Year 1885-1886 with the Valuation and Taxes*. Athol, Mass., 1886. Gives information on the extent and value of Daniel S. Cutler's holdings in Prescott.
- Smiley, W. H., Folder containing material on Smiley is in the Harvard University Archives, Widener Library, Cambridge, Mass.
- Speer, Robert E., "D. L. Moody, Address to the Northfield Schools, February 5, 1931," *Northfield Schools Bulletin*, XX (1931), 1. Speer was a close friend of D. L. Moody's and for many years was a trustee of the school. This pamphlet is the best short paper on Moody.
- State Superintendent of Education, *The Twenty-Seventh School Report to the Legislature, October, 1882*. Montpelier, Vt., 1882.
- Stearns, Alfred E., *An Amherst Boyhood*. Amherst, Mass., 1946.
- Taft, Horace D., *Memories and Opinions*. N.Y., 1942.
- Tourgee, Albion W., *Bricks without Straw*. N.Y., 1880.
- [West Chester], West Chester State Normal School, *Catalogue*. 2 v. West Chester, Pa., 1889-90. West Chester State Teacher's College, *Bulletin, Catalogue of 1946-1947 Season*. West Chester, Pa., 1946.
- Fleet of 1630, an Account of the Vessels, the Voyage, the Passengers and Their English Homes from Original Sources*. Boston, 1930.
- Benedict, William A., and Tracy, Hiram A., *History of the Town of Sutton, Massachusetts, from 1704 to 1876: including Grafton until 1735; Millbury until 1813; and parts of Northbridge, Upton and Auburn*. Worcester, Mass., 1878.
- Bullard, Eugene, *History of New Salem Academy*. 1913.
- Cabot, Richard C., *Adventures on the Borderlands of Ethics*. N.Y., 1926. Dr. Cabot, after a number of years in medicine, went into teaching, just the opposite of Dr. Cutler. They were about the same age and their ideas on the importance of moral education along with subject education coincided very closely. Chapter IV, on "Ethics in Education," is a perfect expression of what Cutler believed.
- Coyle, Thomas, *The Story of Mount Hermon*. Mount Hermon, Mass., 1906. Written for the twenty-fifth anniversary of Mount Hermon by one of the school's first students. There is more on Moody than on the school. Good for a feeling of Mount Hermon's atmosphere in its early days.
- Cutting, George R., *Student Life at Amherst College, Its Organizations, Their Membership and History*. Amherst, Mass., 1871.
- Farmer, John and Moore, Jacob B., eds., *Collections, Historical and Miscellaneous; and Monthly Literary Journal*, II. Concord, N.H., 1823.
- Faulkner, Harold U., *The Quest for Social Justice, 1898-1914* (Arthur M. Schlesinger, Dixon R. Fox, eds., *History of American Life*, XI). N.Y., 1931.
- Fuess, Claude M., *Amherst, the Story of a New England College*. Boston, 1935.
- Gay, William B., *Gazetteer of Hampshire*

SECONDARY SOURCES

I. GENERAL

- Austin, John Osborne, *One Hundred and Sixty Allied Families*. Providence, R.I., 1894. Section on the Hoxies.
- Ballou, Adin, *History of the Town of Milford, Worcester County, Massachusetts, from its First Settlement to 1881*. Boston, 1882.
- Banks, Charles Edward, *The Winthrop*

- County, Mass., 1654-1887, part first. Syracuse, N.Y., 1886.
- Grenfell, Wilfred T., *A Labrador Doctor, the Autobiography of Wilfred Thomason Grenfell, M.D. (Oxon.)*, C.M.G. 8th imp. Boston, n.d. An example of Moody's influence. He describes how Moody's appeal affected him and decided him "to make religion a real effort to do as I thought Christ would do in my place as a doctor. . . ." This is what Moody meant by conversion. Cf. p. 45.
- Holland, Josiah Gilbert, *History of Western Massachusetts*, II, 211-214. Springfield, Mass., 1885.
- Johnson, Clifton, *Historic Hampshire in the Connecticut Valley*. Springfield, Mass., 1932.
- Lawrence, Robert F., *The New Hampshire Churches; Comprising Histories of the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches in the State, with Notices of Other Denominations: also Containing many Interesting Incidents Connected with the First Settlement of Towns*. Claremont, N.H., 1856.
- Le Duc, Thomas H. A., *Piety and Intellect at Amherst College, 1865-1912*. N.Y., 1946.
- Lockwood, J. H., Bagg, E. N. (and others), *Western Massachusetts; a History 1636-1925*. N. Y., 1926.
- Lyford, James Otis, *History of the Town of Canterbury New Hampshire*, I. Concord, N.H., 1912.
- Moody, William R., *D. L. Moody*, 2d ed. N.Y., 1931. Written by Moody's son who took over the running of the schools. Because of its lack of organization it is very difficult to read. It is more a collection of episodes than a continuous theme.
- Morison, Samuel E., "Precedence at Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century" (reprint from American Anti-quarian Society, *Proceedings*, October 1932). Worcester, Mass., 1932. For information on the place of Robert Cutler in the class list of 1741.
- Nason, Elias, *A Gazetteer of the State of Massachusetts*. Boston, 1878.
- Parsons, Herbert Collins, *A Puritan Outpost, a History of the Town and People of Northfield, Massachusetts*. N.Y., 1937.
- Patton, Cornelius H., and Field, Walter T., *Eight O'clock Chapel, a Study of New England College Life in the Eighties*. Boston 1927.
- Peabody, Francis G., *Reminiscences of Present Day Saints*. Boston, 1927. Chapter on Henry Drummond has a few pages on his relations with D. L. Moody which are valuable.
- Schlesinger, Arthur M., *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898* (Arthur M. Schlesinger, Dixon R. Fox, eds., *History of American Life*, X). N.Y., 1933.
- Slosson, Preston W., *The Great Crusade and After, 1914-1928* (Arthur M. Schlesinger, Dixon R. Fox, eds., *History of American Life*, XII). N.Y., 1931.
- Temple, Josiah H., *History of North Brookfield, Massachusetts, Preceded by an Account of Old Quabaug, Indian and English Occupation, 1647-1686, Brookfield Records, 1686-1783. With a Genealogical Register*. Boston, 1887.
- Tyler, William S., *A History of Amherst College during the Administration of Its First Five Presidents, from 1821-1891*. N.Y., 1895.
- Ware, Edith Ellen, *Political Opinion in Massachusetts during Civil War and Reconstruction* (Columbia University, *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, LXXIV, 2). N.Y., 1916.

II. EDUCATION

This biography is as much a history of

education as the history of a man. With the exception of a few years at the beginning and end of his life Cutler was either student, teacher, or principal. I have tried to show where each of the schools, with which Cutler was connected, stood in the stream of our educational development. Below is a list of some material I found helpful.

Ashburn, Frank D., *Peabody of Groton, a Portrait*. N.Y., 1944.

Cubberley, Ellwood P., *Public Education in the United States*. Rev. enl. ed., Boston, 1934.

Curti, Merle, "The Social Ideas of American Educators" (Commission on Social Studies, *Report*, X). N.Y., 1935.

Dewey, John, *The School and Society*. Chicago, 1899.

Eliot, Charles W., *Educational Reform: Essays and Addresses*. N.Y., 1898.

Harris, William T., "Twenty Years of Progress in Education," National Educational Association, *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses*, 1892, 56-61.

James, Henry, *Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard University 1869-1909*. 2 v. Boston, 1930.

Kandel, Isaac L., *History of Secondary Education, a Study in the Development of Liberal Education*. Boston, 1930.

— *Twenty-Five Years of American Education*. N.Y., 1924.

Knight, Edgar W., *Education in the United States*. 2d rev. ed. Boston, 1941.

Makepeace, Leroy McKim, *Sherman Thacher and His School*. New Haven, Conn., 1941.

Moore, Ernest C., *Fifty Years of American Education, a Sketch of the Progress of Education in the United States from 1867 to 1917*. Boston, 1917.

Noble, Stuart G., *A History of American Education*. N.Y., 1938.

Reisner, Edward H., *The Evolution of*

the Common School. N.Y., 1930.

Rugg, Harold, "A Century of Curriculum-Construction in American Schools," National Society for the Study of Education, *The Twenty-Sixth Yearbook*, part I, sec. I. Bloomington, Ill., 1926. This is much the most useful work in this section. Rugg covers a tremendous amount of material with insight and understanding.

Stearns, Alfred E., et al., *The Education of the Modern Boy*. Boston, 1925. Here is a book written by headmasters of the leading preparatory schools on what they think is the best education for the boy of the 'twenties. It is another measuring stick with which to judge Mount Hermon.

III. RELIGION

Arnold, Matthew, *God and the Bible; a Review of Objections to "Literature and Dogma"*. N.Y., 1875. I used the introduction because Arnold's statement of Moody's religious beliefs was considered by Moody to be fair.

Bradford, Gamaliel, *D. L. Moody, a Worker in Souls*. Garden City, N.Y., 1928. Best biography for understanding the man and his thought.

Garrison, Winfred E., *The March of Faith; the Story of Religion in America since 1865*. N.Y., 1933.

Hall, Thomas C., *The Religious Background of American Culture*. 2d ed. Boston, 1930.

Rowe, Henry Kalloch, *The History of Religion in the United States*. 2d ed., N.Y., 1928.

Schlesinger, Arthur M., "A Critical Period in American Religion, 1875-1900," Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, LXIV (1930-1932), 523-548.

Sweet, William W., *The Story of Religions in America*. N.Y., 1930.

INDEX

- Abbott, Lyman, 49, 51
 Alexandria, 34, 44-45, 47, 143, 227
Alumni Quarterly, 147, 163
 Amherst Academy, 15
 Amherst Art Museum, 34, 37, 39, 53
 Amherst College, 15, 24, 30-50, 71, 81, 88,
 95, 102, 113, 120, 143, 144, 157, 158, 166,
 175, 177, 183, 212, 213, 214, 216, 227, 234
Amherst Student, The, 35, 36
 Arnold, Thomas, 114-115, 123, 177
Aryan Review, The, 88, 91
 Athens, Greece, 230, 231, 232
 Atkins, G. Glenn, vi, 101, 117, 144, 236
 Atwood, Abel Wilson, 143, 234
- Bailey, Eleanor, 229
 Basle, Switzerland, 77, 80
 Belfort, France, 72, 74
 Berlin, Germany, 83, 84, 85, 87, 233
 Bernardston, Mass., 30, 65, 153
 Blodgett, E. P., 10, 17-19, 49, 87, 120, 206
 Bonaparte, Napoleon, 21, 44, 71, 73, 155,
 163
Boston Evening Transcript, 139
 Boston, Mass., 46, 66, 68, 217, 225
 Bradford, Gamaliel, Mr. and Mrs., 66,
 73, 87, 91, 155, 157, 158, 159
 Brattleboro, Vt., 28, 65, 173, 217, 236
 Bridge Teacher's Agency, 82, 86
 Brussels, Belgium, 168, 169
- Cambridge, 3, 5, 46, 66, 89
 Camp Hall, 59, 196
 Camp, Hiram, 57
 Cary, John, 7
 Cary, Josiah, 2
 Cary, Molly Moulton, 2
 Cary, Polly Adams, 2
 Cary, Zebulon, 2
 Christian Workers' Union, 125
 College Bookstore, 36-38
 College Hall, 46, 48
- College YMCA Convention, 46
 Commission for Relief in Belgium, 165-
 172, 173, 234
 Conway, Elizabeth, 100
 Crossley Hall, 57, 59, 61, 63, 92, 93, 174,
 196
 Crowell, E. P., 52
 Curtius, Ernst, 113
 Cutler, Abigail, 2
 Cutler, Adaline, E. Sibley, 2, 7, 8, 13, 24,
 120, 151
 Cutler, Alice, 2
 Cutler, Carrie Bell Cutler, 159-160, 164,
 174, 175
 Cutler, Christine, 155, 157, 158, 159
 Cutler, Conrad, 155, 157, 159, 161, 174
 Cutler, Daniel, 2, 6
 Cutler, Daniel Smith, 2, 7, 8, 12-13, 15, 16,
 18, 21, 24, 151, 159, 161
 Cutler District School, 16, 20, 27, 31
 Cutler, Dudley, 2, 6
 Cutler, Elizabeth Fisk, 2
 Cutler, George, 6, 67, 159
 Cutler, Harriet, 164
 Cutler, Harriet Louise Ford, 64-67, 68, 71,
 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 85-87, 89-92, 113,
 147, 149-150, 153-154, 156-157, 159,
 160, 161, 167, 175, 178
 Cutler, Helen, 164
 Cutler, Henry, 6, 11, 67
 Cutler, Henry F., 155, 157, 159, 161
 Cutler, Henry Franklin, *genealogy*, 1-8;
 boyhood, 9-16; *education*, 16-27, 31-50,
 81-85, 219-220, 222-223, 226, 230-233;
 teaching experience, 27-30, 57-67, 71-
 80, 86-91; *at Mount Hermon, as teacher*,
 55-67, *as principal*, 91-148, 177-215, *as*
 Moody Centennial speaker, 226-229;
 family life, 64-66, 91, 149-155, 159-164,
 175-176; *European trips*, 68-87, 113-
 115, 155-157, 160, 166-172, 219-223,
 226, 229-234; *World War I work*, 166-

- 174; *interest in art*, 39-40, 70, 73, 155, 170; *interest in languages*, 21, 27, 41, 53, 63-64, 65-66, 71, 74-76, 79-80, 84-85, 87, 88-89, 121, 156, 160, 162, 167, 175, 234; *interest in medicine*, 143, 216-220, 222-223, 226, 229, 231, 232-233, 234, 235; *interest in music*, 14, 47, 54, 65, 76, 86, 87; *interest in religion*, 15, 33, 42, 48-49, 54, 61, 69, 71, 73, 77-82, 83, 95-99, 103-105, 114, 117, 119-129, 150-151, 161, 210, 228; *death*, 236
- Cutler, James, 1, 2
 Cutler, James, 1, 2, 3
 Cutler, John, 161
 Cutler, Lydia Howard, 2
 Cutler, Mabel Learoyd, vi, 175-176, 216, 217, 219, 220-222, 229, 230, 232, 234, 236
 Cutler, Mary, 25, 54, 56, 77
 Cutler, Mary King, 2
 Cutler, Olive Kelley, 2, 6
 Cutler, Robert, 2, 3-6, 8, 10, 15, 77
 Cutler, Robert Dudley, 161
 Cutler, Thomas, 1, 2
 Cutler, William, 6
- Dickerson, Charles E., 101, 141
 District Prudential Committee, 16
 Douglas, Gaylord, vi
 Drury, L. L., 141
 Duncan, William Y., vi
 Dwight's Home, 196
- East Northfield, Mass., 218, 222, 226, 229, 233
 Elder, Thomas E., 224-225, 229
 Eliot, Charles W., 89, 105-107, 113, 130, 212
 Emerson, Benjamin K., 43
- Flagg, Florence E., 101
 Ford Cottage, 160-161, 162, 166, 174, 175, 196, 217
 Ford, M. L., 63, 158
 Fulton, Albert C., vi
- Garman, Charles E., 43
 Geneva, Switzerland, 79, 81, 83, 84, 85
 Geneva, Theological School of, 79, 81-83, 84, 85, 95
 Gill, Mass., 57, 164, 174
 Glay, Institut de, 72-77, 79, 80, 83, 85, 95, 155, 156, 159, 164
 Greenfield, Mass., 36, 217, 225
 Greenwich, Mass., 3-7, 8-10, 15, 17, 30, 31, 34, 41, 49, 53, 66, 87, 89, 150, 159, 166, 206
 Greenwich Plain, 10, 14, 15, 120
 Greenwich School Committee, 19-20
 Greenwich Village, 10, 11, 16
 Grenfell, Wilfred T., 95, 119
 Guild, Charles, 36, 37, 38, 47, 51
 Guilford District School Number Four, 27-30, 61, 95
 Guilford, Vt., 27, 30, 31, 33, 51
- Hammond, Mary L., 58
 Harrison, J. East, 128
 Harvard University, vi, 3, 40, 46, 48, 89, 105-109, 113, 160, 183, 202
 Hayward, Harry, 138, 140
 Henshaw, Marshall, 34
Hermonite, The, 92, 99, 116-117, 172, 181
 Higginbottom, Sam, 222
 Hitchcock, Edward, 37, 40, 48, 53
 Hitchcock Society of Inquiry, 34, 45, 51, 143, 227
 Holbrook Hall, 142, 179, 180, 192, 207
 Home Farm, 10, 14, 15, 24, 30, 33, 35, 41, 42, 43
 Hoover, Herbert, 163, 165, 167, 169, 170A, 171, 234
 Hubbard, E. A., 58, 59, 60
- Institute of Educational Research of Teachers' College of Columbia University 202-206
- Keller, F. Wilson, vi
 Kelley, George, 2
 Kelley, Kezia Hoxie, 2
- Ladd, Martha M., 142
 Lansing, Robert, 166
 Lee, William F., 68
 Liverpool, England, 69, 70, 155, 156

- London, England, 70-71, 155, 156, 157, 167
 London House, 113
- Macler, N. G., 75, 76, 80, 155
 Malcolm, Douglas, vi, 218
 Manchester, 113
 Mather, Richard H., 34, 39, 51, 53
 McConaughy, James, 101, 109, 141, 174
 McDowell, John, 175
 McMillan, George, 102, 141
 Merriam, Albert, 230-231
 Miller, Mary J., 102, 142
 Montague, William L., 52
 Moody, Ambert G., 102
 Moody, Dwight Lyman, 49, 51, 56, 57-58, 62, 65, 67, 86, 89-99, 100, 102, 103, 104, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 119, 120, 126, 127, 128, 131, 132, 137, 141, 142, 145, 146, 147, 150, 164, 175, 189, 191, 196, 197, 198, 200, 201, 205, 208, 209-212, 213, 226-229
 Moody, William R., 58, 138, 141, 147, 148, 149, 208, 209, 213, 221
 Morse, Horace H., vi, 135, 140
 Mount Hermon School, v, vi, 55-67, 71, 73, 77, 86, 89-148, 149, 150, 153, 157, 158, 159, 160, 163, 164, 165, 177-215, 217, 218, 219, 221, 222, 236; *Cutler's relation with students*, 177-194; *curriculum and activities*, 59, 104, 132-134, 138-139, 143-146, 177-178, 202; *faculty and administration*, 59, 100-111, 113-118, 134-135, 140-143, 179, 196-209, 223-225, 229; *finances*, 146-148, 201; *Moody Centennial Celebration*, 226-229; *religious life*, 119-129; *summary of educational ideals*, 209-214; *World War I influence*, 172-174, 195-196
 Mount Hermon YMCA, 125, 182
 Mount Lizzie, 9, 14, 15
 Mount Pomeroy, 9, 14, 15
- National Educational Association, 106, 112, 130, 160, 212
 New Salem Academy, 21, 23-27, 31, 87, 107
 Nichols, William F., 102
 Norton, Lyon L., 101, 141
- Northfield, Mass., 56, 65, 97, 164, 215, 218, 220, 229, 234, 235, 236
 Northfield Schools, vi, 56, 118, 119, 128, 141, 175, 194, 200, 201, 202, 203, 208, 209, 226
 Northfield Seminary, 55, 56, 57, 61, 64, 90, 91, 100, 141
- Old Purple Farm, 57
- Paige, Nancy, 38
 Paige, Theodore, 38
 Paris, France, 71-73, 155-156, 157, 163, 177, 219-220, 222, 223, 225, 226, 229, 230, 231
 Paris, University of, 219, 226
 Park, William E., vi
 Petersen, Peter, 61, 62, 63, 67, 68-72, 79, 81, 82, 87, 155
 Phi Beta Kappa, 48, 234
 Philips, George M., 86, 88, 91
 Powers Institute, 30
 Prohibition Club, 64
- Rankin, Henry W., 89-90, 95
 Recitation Hall, 59, 184
 Republican Club, 64
 Rikert, Carroll, vi
 Robinson, Lizzie H., 55, 56, 66
 Roscoe, Frank, 232-233
 Rotterdam, The Netherlands, 167, 171
 Royal Frederick-William University, 84, 113
 Rubendall, Howard L., vi
 Rudy, Institut, 71, 72, 73
 Rugby, 113
 Ryan, John, 30
- Sawyer, Henry E., 55, 56, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 67, 72, 90, 91, 99, 153
 Schlesinger, Arthur M., vi
 Schools' Examination Board of Harvard University, vi, 105-111, 112-113, 116, 132, 212
 Seelye, Julius H., 32-33, 43, 49, 52, 120, 177
 Sibley, Daniel, 2
 Sibley, Hannah Putnum, 2
 Sibley, Mary Ann Cary, 2

- Sibley, John, 7
 Sibley, Jonathan, 7
 Sibley, Phebe Prince, 2
 Sibley, Phebe Sibley, 2
 Sibley, Solomon, 2
 Sibley, Stephen, 2
 Sibley, Tarrant, 2, 7
 Smiley, William H., 25-27, 31
 Smith, Carolyn, 229
 Smith, Jessie E., 20-21, 26, 31, 56
 Speer, Elliott, 128, 208, 209, 215, 219, 223-225
 Speer, Robert E., 208
Springfield Weekly Republican, 8, 15, 64, 76
 Stark, Stephen, vi, 101, 142
 State Agricultural College, 31, 45
 Streeter, Charlie, 157
 Student Volunteer Band, 125
 Sunderland, E. S. S., vi
 Süry, M. H., 75, 76, 79, 80
 Syracuse, University of, 165-166, 217
 Thiebaud, Charles, 216, 217
 Thrasher, Sam, 14
 Tyler, W. S., 48, 53
 Vahlen, Prof., 84-85, 89
 Vienna, Austria, 163, 226, 229, 230, 233
 Vienna, University of, 226, 233
 Ware, Mass., 6, 13, 14, 15, 159, 160
 Watson, Richard L., 102, 141
 Wellesley College, 65, 66, 159
 Wellesley Hills, Mass., 64, 87, 89, 91, 147, 153, 157, 158, 159
 Wesleyan University, 160, 174
 West Chester Normal School, 86, 87-91, 95, 101, 114
 West Hall, 131, 180, 189, 193
 White, Lester P., vi
 Williams College, 144, 161
 Windsor Locks, Conn., 6, 14, 15, 87
 Yale University, 10, 47, 160, 208
 Yeager, W. S., 146, 166

Elizabeth S. Dunsen





University of
Connecticut
Libraries



